

PHENIX



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H. G. WELLS

PHŒNIX

*A Summary of the Inescapable Conditions
of World Reorganisation*



LONDON
SECKER & WARBURG
1942

Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd.
22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

<i>First published</i>	1942	.	.	.	<i>July, 1942</i>
<i>Reprinted</i>	.	.	.	.	<i>July, 1942</i>
<i>Second Edition</i>	.	.	.	.	<i>November, 1942</i>

Made and Printed in Great Britain at St. Albans by
The Mayflower Press (of Plymouth). William Brendon & Son, Ltd.

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Book One:

THE NECESSARY FORM OF WORLD
REORGANISATION

I

REORGANISATION IS POSSIBLE

IN this book the writer has assembled and put in the order of their importance a number of ideas for the reorganisation of human affairs that collectively constitute a valid and hopeful scheme. They come from many sources; they embody precedents and they are a continuation of existing practices and current developments. They interlock as one whole practicable project for the sane reorganisation of human affairs. It is not suggested that they can be realised immediately or without a long and tedious struggle and many reverses. It is quite possible that mankind cannot produce the necessary mental and moral energy to bring about these changes. There is much to be said for the view that mankind is not entitled to the grandiose name of *Homo sapiens*; that he had better be called by some other name.¹ Nevertheless this summary is set out to the best of the writer's ability because, if the thing is to be done, this is plainly the way and the order in which it will have to be done.

The present human tragedy may conceivably sink into a phase of exhaustion and lassitude. There may be a pseudo-settlement. A series of flimsy balances and compromises may be all we shall have the vigour to erect against an inevitable

¹ See, for example, *You Can't be too Careful*, by the present writer (1941).

renewal of the war tornado under still more disastrous conditions. We may watch it coming again with as little intelligence as the British watched the German attack coming from 1936 onward and the British and Americans disregarded the inevitable Japanese attack in 1941. Ordinary people do not like to "meet trouble half-way"; they prefer to be overtaken by it. What is called "democracy" nowadays is mainly evasion and moral cowardice, and the real symbol of the English-speaking peoples, if we are to do them justice, is neither eagle nor lion but the gallant ostrich, waving its feathers bravely to any wind that blows.

In other books the compiler of this work has discussed the wide variations of decay and degeneration that confront mankind, and shown how heavily the scales are weighted down by our mental ineptitudes and reluctance, against the escape of our children into a braver phase of living. It is unnecessary to recapitulate that survey here.¹

Nevertheless, for reasons that will be made manifest as this summary unfolds, there is good reason for concluding that a rational reconstruction of the world, a conclusive recovery of mankind from this present phase of reeling disaster, can still be attempted. It is still practicable in spite of an adverse balance of probability. It can be done, *if . . .* This is a statement of hope and not of faith.

There is no evidence of any magic or supernatural guidance in human affairs. That can be dismissed from the discussion. The salvaging of our species can only be achieved by doing the right thing at the right time and place in the right sequence and in the right proportions. Strait is the gate and narrow is the way. Mankind is not to be saved from the inexorable logic of destiny by catchwords, slogans, happy-go-lucky methods and occasional bouts of prayer to our various, and now more or less amalgamated, gods.²

¹ See *The Outlook for Homo sapiens* (Secker & Warburg, 1942).

² The Japanese Roman Catholic bows in the Shinto temples in acquiescence to the local supremacy of the God Emperor over the Vatican. The Christians in Nero's time were not that accommodating. Christianity as a revolution is extinct. Priestcraft has become a strongly conservative international cartel.

There is no time to be wasted, no, but still less time is there for hastily conceived, uncorrelated experiments. Swift deliberation, concise clear statements of the imperatives of our situation, and open-minded co-operative action in obedience to these imperatives, there must be, or all the talk of world recovery we hear from eminent leaders and politicians and divines, is no better than the cackle and resolute demonstrations of geese on their way to the Michaelmas market.

At which some goose will be moved to reply loudly and quite vainly, still waddling onward to the killing; "How will you get people to get together?" he will say. "*Tot homines, quot sententiae*" and all the rest of that nonsense. But there is no need for all the geese in the world to be unanimous about what has to be done. Strait is the gate and narrow is the way, and few there be that find it. If there is a way to vital reorganisation, it will be evident first of all to a certain minority of exceptionally hard-minded and clear-headed people. That is unavoidable. That is a problem that has confronted mankind since it emerged from the casual life of the wandering hunter and embarked upon that long process of servitude and frustration which Winwood Reade called "The Martyrdom of Man".

Humiliation and unhappiness have been the lot of the vast majority of mankind since an organised society dawned upon the world. All that is made very clear in Reade's book. True that there is much beauty and romantic brightness in our inheritance of poetry, literature and art. Such happy things arose for the most part out of the rulers' surplus energy, and, like the sundial, they recorded only the glowing hours. Less manifest was the night and winter of hopeless subordination in which the great majority of our kind was living and dying. Man's history has been a story of masters and servitude for more than fifty thousand generations. The polarisation of the human species between the aggressive, dominating or acquisitive types, to whom everything had to be referred, at the one extreme, and the great mass of under-developed and usually underfed servile, at the other, has determined the trend of social pressure through the ages.

It has never, for quite obvious reasons, been a simple issue between the disinherited in revolt on the one hand and the privileged, fortunate and masterful on the other. That idea of an upward or downward class war is one of the weaker elements in Marxist Communistic theory. As a matter of fact, among other deprivations of the disinherited, has been the lack of any education to enable them to grasp the essential conditions for their own alleviation. Throughout the ages it is from the ranks of the advantaged that the movements towards liberation have come. No downtrodden masses have ever liberated themselves unaided.

A man's mind must be liberated before he can conceive the idea of setting men free. The scholarship boy, the patronised young man, has rebelled, or fine-spirited upper-class minds have been infuriated by the needless dismalness of the under-side of life and the deadly stupidity and dull arrogance of the ruling class about them. Boredom and self-disgust have made far more effective revolutionaries than injustice. Revolutionaries throughout the ages have wanted legal equality and liberty for the sake of a fuller life for themselves as well as for others in a happier world. A revolutionary who does not expect considerable personal satisfaction from a revolution is an untrustworthy revolutionist.

The seeds of the new Russia, for example, which so many people in the world are now beginning to admire for the first time, were sown by the student class, the intelligentsia. They were perhaps too deeply impressed by their own generosity, and they exaggerated it by self-denying ordinances. The "dictatorship of the Proletariat" was an empty and mischievous fiction to conceal even from themselves the reality that the New Russia was created by a small organisation of resolute devotees.

Like all such organisations, the Communist Party has been and is exposed to all the possibilities of degeneration and perversion that may arise out of strategic necessities, moral fatigue, the deadening effect of repetition, personal disputes and a passionate fear of any falling away from the initial doctrines of the movement. On the whole within Russia the

Communist Party has served Russia well, albeit its theory, though not its practices, has undergone no effectual adaptation to the profound change in the physical conditions of human life that has occurred since the beginning of the twentieth century. But its theoretical inflexibility has done a greater evil to Russia in misrepresenting that country to the western world, than has been possible where it has been in direct contact with the practical needs of the home front. There has been bold experiment and courageous inconsistency. In this present furnace, the Phoenix of revolutionary thought needs to be re-born in Russia just as completely as it has to be re-born throughout the rest of this planet.

Revolution is a Phoenix. Down the stream of human history we can trace its persistent rebirth. Jesus and his Nazarenes (before the movement fell a prey to the worldly intellectualism of Paul) were only one of a long series of attempts to set up a kingdom of righteousness on earth. Intellectual history is very largely a record of the recurrent efforts of exceptional, indignant men, who found life based on servitude insufferable and intolerable, and who set out to change it, just as national history is one long record of the wars, invasions, usurpations, betrayals, murders and persecutions that have defeated their efforts and prolonged the racial martyrdom.

So far killing has been the ultimate retort to every demand for equalitarian freedom. The popular imagination has misapplied the sword of St. Paul in the Arms of the City of London to commemorate an assassinated revolution.

Of every upheaval of the human will it is true that it succeeded and equally true that it failed. It is impossible to estimate how completely the species would have remained a tangle of treachery and brutality without these revolts, or what sort of a world we might be living in, if they had been sounder in their inception and better guarded against the creeping paralysis of disingenuous organisation. The fact remains that once more, and now on a vaster scale than ever, the world is crying aloud for revolutionary reconstruction, and the purpose of our present enquiry is to survey all the forces that can be

evoked to that end, estimate the possibility of bringing it about, and, if it is to be done, of doing so with a maximum effectiveness in a minimum of time.

II

THE THREEFOLD IMPERATIVE

A REVOLUTIONARY movement must begin, and can only begin, as the work of a small and devoted élite. Such an élite has always been at hand throughout the whole historical period at every phase of mental excitement, and in the present crisis, more universally stirring than any that has preceded it, there is no reason whatever for doubting that it will be forthcoming. Will there be the same strategic necessity for locking it up and retarding and ultimately arresting its progressive adaptability in a highly disciplined and dogmatic organisation, such as has limited and stifled the world-wide appeal of the Communist idea?

The answer to that is No, for very broad and undeniable reasons. The world situation has changed fundamentally in the past third of a century, and the conditions under which the world revolutionary must set about his task now are profoundly different from those with which his predecessor had to deal forty years ago.

It is necessary here to restate the essentials of that fundamental change. It is necessary because we are dealing almost everywhere in the world with populations no longer completely illiterate, but suffering under a general delusion that they have learnt to read and write, and that the language they use is a perfect instrument of expression. Consequently we confront them with books and pamphlets and so forth that are not nearly so clear and well-written as we imagine them to be, and we suppose them to appreciate almost excessively what we imagine we have said.

This is the state of affairs even among those we call the "intelligentsia". What these "educated" people generally do, is to turn over anything that is put before them, look for familiar phrases and sentences that seem to agree with their preoccupations, or for familiar phrases and sentences that arouse them to flat contradiction, react accordingly, and pass over whatever seems strange and novel to them as entirely negligible. So once more I repeat here, patiently for the twentieth time or so, that what they are overlooking is that the fundamental conditions of human survival have changed in a threefold manner since this century began.

In the first place there has been what is called the abolition of distance by the development of new means of communication and particularly of air transport, radio and the like. This, if we retain the sovereign independence of states, involves among other things the possibility of sudden Blitzkriegs without notice. It also means the practical abolition of the distinction once drawn, in theory always but not always in practice, between combatant and non-combatant in warfare. Moreover it makes it more practicable to-day to administer the whole world as one system than it was to govern Great Britain from Westminster two hundred years ago. Except for the obsolescent barriers of tariffs, frontiers, monopolies and currencies, the world is not only politically one but economically one. A revolutionary movement which recognises this truth will differ from the very beginning from one which does not do so. The former will be entirely cosmopolitan; the latter will be local and national. And every social and administrative consequence will be different. It is to the former alternative that we must turn our minds. The age of sovereign states, which began with the prehistoric city communities, has ended, and this present chaos is its downfall.

That is the first fact that a great number of intellectuals continue to disregard. They will say it is an obvious platitude, or they will say nothing about it, and then they will go on again with schemes and suggestions that it rules out of court. What are we to do with such people?

The second broad fact of universal application to-day,

which is more or less closely correlated with the first, is the stupendous enhancement of the power of waste in the world, due to the uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources by a financial and big business world complex far beyond the power of any existing governments to control, and in fact controlling governments.

It is an instinctive rather than a deliberate complex of acquisitive types, collectively dreading control and massively opposed to any cosmopolitan conservation of the natural wealth of our planet. It is a world gaggle of book-keeping, balance-striking business men. It is almost insanely "anti-Bolshevik", because the thought of any world-socialist or world-communist system threatens its very existence. Otherwise it is so indifferent to politics or humanity that for years it has been supplying the Japanese with all the war material they needed for the systematic murder and torment of millions of Chinese and for their present destructive attempt at world dominion. They were supplying Japan with oil and metal right up to the Japanese attack on Honolulu. And they were so blind to the security of their own securities that they sacrificed the organisation of the military defences of their vast possessions of oil, rubber, tungsten and so forth, to their own profiteering. They expected the British Navy and the British taxpayer to take care of all that.¹

¹ "*We Fed the Hand that's Biting Us* (sic).

"By the United Press.

"*Washington, Dec. 8.*—The bombs that fell on Honolulu were made of metals sent from the U.S.A.

"This country has been supplying Japan with the raw materials of war for many years. The supply actually increased after the invasion of China began.

"In 1937 this country supplied 54.54 per cent of all strategic war materials imported by Japan. In 1938 it supplied 56 per cent.

"In 1938 91 per cent of all Japan's scrap iron imports were sent by us; 68 per cent of its oil imports; 98 per cent of its ferro-alloys; 92 per cent of its copper; 99.6 per cent of its metal and alloys; 77 per cent of its automobiles and parts; 70 per cent of its metal-working machinery; 63 per cent of its aircraft and parts.

"In 1939 scrap exports from here to Japan still were going up. This country was furnishing almost all of Japan's aviation gasoline. In 1940 we embargoed scrap steel, but permitted export of metals not classified as scrap—steel rails in large quantities, for instance; scrap from the Philippines was not restricted.

There must be immense debts owing to these financial people, and the behaviour of influential banking groups in China, America, Britain, France and elsewhere may still be affected by a stupid hope that some day, in some manner, they will yet be able to collect their blood money.

This is no novelty in financial history. The French cannon at Waterloo were furnished by the City of London. After Elba Napoleon was able to negotiate a £4,000,000 loan at 8 per cent in London. But the world progresses. In those days there was no United Press to call attention to the matter.

In America typically, and throughout the world, anti-Bolshevik "free democratic business" has produced a vast foolish way of life for a small minority, disastrous fluctuations of employment, constant anxiety, discomfort and frustration for the masses, and a series of business "crises" culminating in the world-wide collapse of banking that preceded the present war. It was men like Thyssen (see his *I Paid for Hitler*) and Hugenberg who launched the great Nazi adventure upon mankind. It was American Big Business that bombed Manila to smoking ruins.

But if America is the type country of "free democratic business", it is also the country that has produced the most effective projects for its control. It is to Theodore Roosevelt we owe the word "Conservation", that is to say the conservation of American resources from the Big Business spendthrift; it is to America we owe the bold social experiment of the Tennessee Valley; and it is Mr Gifford Pinchot who has given the ablest exposition of the necessity and methods of one single world conservation. Here again there is no class war at work. It is the protest of clear-headed, fair-minded men

"In 1940, goods exported to Japan from this country totalled \$227,204,000 in value, in return for which we received goods of no military value.

"In the first quarter of 1941 shipments were continuing. The U.S.A. sent Japan 8,341,000 lb. of lead, nearly three times the quantity sent in the same period of 1940.

"We sent 1,097,000 barrels of gasoline, nearly five times as much as in the first quarter of 1940.

"It was not until midsummer that trade with Japan was brought to a halt."

against a way of life (the celebrated American Way of Life) that they find insufferable and disastrous.

(The Communist Party in America, we may note, greeted all these things with squeaks of hostility. It combined with its Catholic opposite number, Westbrook Pegler, in a convergent attack upon constructive revolution. The declaration of war against Russia by Hitler and of Japan against the United States put an end to that duet. Ralph Ingersoll of the New York evening paper, *P.M.*, says that when he asked in Russia about the American and British Communist Parties' activities, they were spoken of with contempt. The innate snobbishness of youth in the universities has suffered greatly from the suggestion that a constructive revolutionary is not a "regular fellow" but a "parlour Bolshevik", and pink rather than real bright red. Adolescents in any country have an impatience to become "regular fellows", and they are apt to feel uneasy in parlours. They smoke and spit and swear, know all about women and join the extreme reds, or the Fascists, as may be. Yet pink is the colour of health and red of apoplexy.)

Plainly, before we can go a step on towards a reorganisation and rehabilitation of human affairs, we have to make up our minds whether we stand unambiguously for World Conservation. If we do, then again we are demanding an authority that will set aside or override every existing government on earth to-day; that is to say, we are asking for a world revolution.

All our more detailed ideas of world reconstruction must be determined by that decision. You cannot accept this "in principle" or anything of that sort and then go fumbling back to futility again.

We come now to the third essential fact that demands the attention of every honest pretender to world reconstruction, and that is the rapid evaporation of illiteracy from the world. All the variations of the master and servant society that have flourished and born flower in the world above the black swamp of human toil and subjugation, since the beginnings of agriculture and social discipline, have maintained themselves

upon the ignorance of the lower strata. Quite rapidly, in a lifetime or so, technical improvements have abolished the need for toil, man power has been replaced by mechanical power, so much more efficient that the mere inadaptability of the hand worker, acquired after years of apprenticeship, could not compete against it. Processes changed, labour had to be transferred to new operations, and the master class was confronted with the problem of adjusting the worker to the new apparatus. A rising standard of comfort, waiting at table, the postman's visit, the more complicated cookery book, for instance, made the totally illiterate servant less of a treasure. And the competition of the religious bodies was forcing prayer-books and Bibles into the hands of quite common people. All over the world, as the liberating machinery and the rising standard of life spread, the ruling class was faced by the dangerous necessity of teaching the masses to read.

It was done meanly and ungraciously. The religious bodies undertook to combine a certain servile efficiency with pious abasement, but even then their product began reading promiscuously as it grew up. It read pornography, crime stories and class resentment with avidity. Cheap popular printing got out of control from the outset, and the simple ambition of Carnegie to immortalise his name put warm rooms and a wide choice of reading matter within reach of every English-speaking out-of-work who wanted to know about things.

At the outset of world mechanisation the English went to the most elaborate pains to invent a lower-class teaching with specially trained lower-class teachers, whose successful revolt against their inferiority makes one of the most stimulating chapters in the history of education. British Conservatism is still struggling against the threatened amalgamation of all its teaching institutions into one public service. Nevertheless there is now no social stratum in these new "reading democracies" at which one may not find a well-read, clear-thinking man—or the reverse. The upper classes nowadays retain little or no benefit of clergy. It has slipped away from them and I cannot see how it can possibly return.

But that is not the only result of the recent mechanisation

of human life and the enormous and steady increase in its productive efficiency. Much graver for the reactionary is the problem of the unemployed young man with no prospects of what used to be considered a satisfactory-normal life. That young man is the central figure of the present world catastrophe. More and more of the intelligent young women may be joining him. In the dear dead past of the gentlefolk, that young man had no "schooling" at all or only a year or so of it. He was set to earn money by ten or eleven. Lots of him died. His early death-rate was big enough to prevent any serious increase in the population. Even in the 1831-41 decade the population of England did not increase. Now it is different. He lives and he reads. He may be as well-informed as anybody about public affairs, though he is still a little prone to superstitions about his "betters", but in Britain two years of incompetent warfare is knocking that nonsense out of his head. His imagination is stimulated not only by abundant reading, but on the air, in the cinema, in gossip, and all about him there comes the knowledge of an enviable sort of life, just out of his reach. Why, he asks, with increasing penetration, is it out of reach in his case? All over the world, his sexual vitality will urge him to marry and get a job. He doesn't get a job, he cannot get a home, he may or may not marry, and he stands about, full of impatient life. Hans Fallada told the German aspect of it in *Little Man, What Now?* There he is at the street corner ready for anyone to work upon, and full of urgent vitality, the quintessence of human vitality.

Sometimes he becomes a criminal, not necessarily a tough or brutal one. Mark Benney, in *Low Company*, tells you about that. But that is an extreme of personal revolt. But even if he does not take that last step, he still feels that someone or something is to blame. Along comes a political adventurer and suggests that it's all a conspiracy of the Jews, or the Capitalists, or the Communists, or the results of the Versailles Treaty, and he not only suggests this, but he offers a uniform and pay and excitement and a sense of effective action. Need I elaborate this story?

But manifestly if we are to save the world from bursting

through the increase in its productive energy, of which the common young man is the front and living product, we have to give him a satisfying interest in existence, the gratification of self-realisation and a sense of participation in the world's affairs. That is imperative. There is no other way out of interminable disorder but that. And to give that, it is equally imperative that the world should become a world of continually expanding enterprise. For mankind now there is no way out but up.

How is that to be achieved? The world is in debt? If necessary we must wipe out that debt. Finance is made for man and not man for finance. Most debt is due to anti-social appropriation in the past. Plainly that must be wiped off the slate. In a world of rapidly increasing productive efficiency, it is dangerous for the "investing public", it is ridiculous, to struggle against inflation. They must count their shrinking purchasing power among the inevitable casualties of a great war. The young man, who is mankind, must not be sacrificed to save them from that. They need not be reduced to destitution—the nightmare of Dean Inge. There will be enough for everybody but the greedy, in an ever more productive world.

To assert and assure clearly the recognition of the young man's outlook upon life, a Declaration of Human Rights was drawn up a year or so ago by a representative group of liberal thinkers under the Chairmanship of Lord Sankey. This Declaration will be found in an Appendix at the end of this book. It is intended to be no less than a common fundamental law for the whole world, overriding any other law that it contradicts, and it assures, within the limits of the developing resources of our planet, a just and equal outlook for every human being born into the world. In other words it sweeps aside the inequalitarian social system that has prevailed in human society since human society began.

The writer reiterates these primary considerations for a world revolution. He has written about them elsewhere, but through his own faults of statement perhaps, but much more through the flighty reading habits of other people, they do not seem to have bitten in. There is nothing for it then but this

repetition. They constitute the threefold imperatives which a world revolution must obey.

First, the establishment of an overriding *federal* world control of transport and inter-state *communications* throughout the entire world.

Secondly, the federal *conservation* of world resources, and

Thirdly, the subordination of all the federated states of the world to a common *fundamental law*.

All this means exactly what it says. It has been written with the utmost care. Every word means something clear-cut and definite. The most significant have been italicised. The writer is not flourishing words about or offering you a graceful arrangement of loopholes on the lines of the Atlantic Declaration. Either you agree that this threefold statement is *right*, or you must go off and make a little reconstruction scheme for yourself in your corner. And if it is right, then all our subsequent planning must be strictly compatible with it. 'Contradict it, and then, if you can, show its wrongness. Think it over, because, as you will realise later on, it means saying good-bye to many things that are still influential in your mind.

But whatever else you do, you are implored for the sake of your sanity, to stop flapping about and writing and talking and, in a manner, even thinking, sometimes as if you contemplated a world revolution, sometimes as if you were thinking about the British Empire (which took itself to pieces by the Statute of Westminster in 1931), sometimes as if you were the God-appointed trustee of still lootable and possibly submissive "backward races", sometimes as if you were bent upon realising the moral aspirations of Lord Reith or Lord Halifax or P.E.P. or the Archbishop of York or *Unser Kampf*, and so build up "Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land".¹

¹ In these insane days it may be well to point out that this is a quotation from Blake and has nothing to do with the Jewish question.

III

A SHORT HISTORY OF WAR AND HUMAN
INEQUALITY

THIS book, since it aims at assembling into a consistent whole the interdependent elements of the revolutionary project, must necessarily and of set intention repeat itself again and again. Its aim is to take the reader round that project and view it from this point of view and that. This stereoscopic method was followed in the writer's *Guide to the New World*, and its success, in comparison with presentation on the flat, was so satisfactory as to justify its extended use here. So that here it will serve our purpose best to give a brief history of the development of organised and disciplined war from its beginning to the present day, albeit it is intimated, assumed and repeated in a fragmentary manner throughout the entire book.

First then as regards the question of warfare we will repeat a compact article on the "Transformation of War" which was first published as a magazine article, then we will follow with an essay on "Why Generals Deteriorate" and then a "History of Discipline" taken out of an experimental book which the writer will never publish because it has been scrapped in favour of the present volume. These three pieces were written as newspaper articles in the first person singular, and with a certain journalistic urgency, and they have been reprinted as they were written in 1941.

The Transformation of War

War has never been the same thing for any length of time. It arises out of the general struggle for existence, out of the fear and hatred of strangers and competitors, and it has expanded as the means of communication between human

beings has expanded, from a war of families to a war of clans, to tribal wars, to national wars, to wars of conquest and wars of empires. Disregarding a few exceptional cases, mountain fastnesses or islands for example, everything has favoured this expansion through the ages; the bigger the unified community the stronger the army. The outline of history resolves itself into a growth of communities obeying this obvious law.

But it is not merely that the scope of war has changed until now every war becomes world war, but all the time, with the invention of a new weapon and a new method, the nature and social consequences of warfare change. Anyone who says: "There always has been war and there always will be", is either an ignoramus or an idiot. He is the victim of a word. But if we call war with flint hand-axes War A, and if we call war with bows and arrows War B, and war with repeating fire-arms—I am thinking of the Colt's revolver in Texas—War C, we realise that War B can abolish War A and War C War B. It is not simply the war that changes into something else; the community also changes with it and has to change with it. The Texan, with a social structure behind him that could produce a revolver, reduced the previously invincible Comanche nomad with his horses and arrows to an anachronism.

The science of history is still in its infancy. The histories upon which we were brought up were intended mainly to make us good and useful citizens for the government to which we belonged; nevertheless, the truth has a way of seeping through, and, if the reader will run his mind back through the record, he will realise that through the whole course of history, except for local bickering, there are very few cases of a fair and square war on equal terms. What is generally happening is that War G is giving way to War H or War H to War I—with all the associated social changes. Drilled and disciplined men drove through the Homeric scrapping and swagger of undisciplined "heroes", the war-chariot broke the locked formations of the drilled men, the mounted men of the Macedonian cavalry chased the Persian chariots off the face of the earth, the Mongols substituted enlistment for massacre and swept triumphantly from Karakorum to Silesia with an

ever more miscellaneous host; the Parthian cavalry rode round the Roman legions and shot them to pieces, the Arab chivalry thought Mohammed the dirtiest cad who ever spoilt war by digging in at Medina.

One could go on assembling instance after instance to verify this generalisation of the progressive transformation of war and of the world by novelties, by new material and new methods. We should come to gunpowder, artillery, railroads, rifled guns, iron shipping, machine-guns and so forth and so on. Each altered the problems of war, each evoked a different sort of soldier and *varied the quality of the ensuing peace*. Each in fact altered the rules of the war game and made it, to the extent of that alteration, a new game. And as we came up through history to the past century, we should find the transformations of war more and more fundamental and revolutionary, and clustering closer and closer together in the record. Now the changes tread so closely upon each other's heels that the war game we shall be playing next year will certainly be altogether different from the war game our generals and War Offices learnt to play when they were still learners. It will be a new game; the scoring will be different and the outcome will be different—I had almost written totally different, so great is the difference likely to be—from anything ever heard of before in the whole history of mankind.

Let us run over some of the more fundamental phases in this final transformation of war. We need not go back earlier than 1900 to apprehend the broad features of the change. Let us consider first of all the new weapons that have come into action since that date. Chief among them are the tank and the aeroplane. Both of these were the realisation of very ancient human dreams. They are social products, to which hundreds of thousands of minds have contributed. Recently one or two ill-advised old gentlemen have claimed to be *the* inventor of *the* tank or *the* inventor of *the* aeroplane. We have even been told of the precise turning-point in history when the tank was "conceived". Such claims are as foolish and preposterous as it would be to talk of *the* inventor of *the* City State or of *the* ploughed field or of Music. But human

invention advances upon a broad front and because of that neck-and-neck advance the history of science is disfigured by countless petty squabbles for priority. The reality of almost all fundamental human progress is a gradual approximation of experiment to practical application on the part of great numbers of people. Imaginative men anticipate the result and keep up the courage of the research worker, by believing in him and sustaining him when he seems most impracticable.

The tank idea for example, the idea of an advance of troops under some sort of portable cover (the Roman *testudo*) is almost as old as walled cities, and men have been experimenting with gliders and similar devices since the days of Daedalus. The main trouble in the former case was the problem of carrying the necessarily heavy protection over ditches, trenches and difficult ground; in the latter, the problem of making a machine light enough and an engine powerful enough to lift it. Hundreds and thousands of advances in metallurgical and mechanical science, many of which at the time seemed to have no direct bearing upon the riddles of the tortoise and the bird, had to be made before these two problems were solved. Ultimately in the first decade of the twentieth century, the land ironclad crawled slowly and the aeroplane flopped clumsily into possibility.

So far as the tank goes there was one small group of experimenters who might claim to be inventors, and oddly enough it is doubtful whether a single one of them had the slightest suspicion that he was inventing one of the two most revolutionary instruments of war that mankind has ever seen. They were working upon tractors to be used in big-scale agriculture. There is no detailed record of the successive devices of this group, but one of the outstanding figures was certainly B. J. Diplock. I do not know his relations to the American Holt, nor what he may have owed to earlier experiments. His caterpillar tractor made it possible to spread heavy weights over soft unprepared ground. It liberated transport from roads, because it carried its own road with it, laying it down in front of it and picking it up behind.

We need a type of scientific worker who does not yet exist.

We need—what shall I call them?—professors of human ecology, or, if you want a less precise and pompous name, of Foresight. It has even been suggested there should be a Ministry of Foresight. Its business should be the systematic thinking-out of what new inventions may do to us. Failing the necessary endowments, this important business is still left to amateurs. It was an amateur in foresight who pointed out in the *Strand Magazine* as early as 1903, that Diplock's pedrail released warfare from its limitations to roads and railways, and made fleet actions of land ironclads possible. By that one device current military science was out-dated.

In the same way by 1908 the old distinction of combatant and non-combatant was superseded by the aeroplane, and war in two dimensions gave way to war in three. Except of course in the minds of the senior military and naval authorities, trained "not to reason why", trained but to "do and die". (Unfortunately not nearly so fast as the men under them.)

But tremendous as the transformation of war by these vast new weapons has been, there have been other causes in operation, less obvious but even more fundamental. First and foremost is the penetration of education and political consciousness to the whole mass of the belligerent population. For hundreds of years the prevailing sorts of wars had this in common: they were made and carried on by a very limited ruling class, which alone knew what was going on and what it was all about. The armies employed consisted for the most part of illiterate fighting animals, who fought rather like packs of dogs. Officers barked words of command to them and they obeyed mechanically. They had to be fed, paid with apparent regularity, and blooded with occasional loot.

The economic and educational changes of the past century have wiped all that out. The whole population knows about the war, can and must share in the war, mentally as well as bodily, and so mass propaganda to keep up the spirit and solidarity of your own people and to depress and disorganise the enemy, has become as important a factor in the transformation of war as the production of planes or tanks. We are fighting now as populations, whose average age is far

higher and whose mentality far maturer than any populations that have ever been at war before, who read, who listen in, who keep on thinking, who argue and whisper when you try to stop them thinking out loud. Down to the very basis of the social order they are asking: "What are our war aims? Why are we doing these things? Why are we being made to do these things? How can we end this sort of trouble for ever?"

A rising tide of human common sense and consciousness threatens to swamp all but the most cherished traditions of nationalist history by a realisation of the common brotherhood of man, and it is profoundly important we should be alert to guard ourselves against the chief expedients by which the old militarism, War Y, struggles to protect itself from this culminating transformation, this gathering onslaught of destructive critical thinking.

Foremost among these weapons of the expiring war tradition is the Hero Legend. This is as much a weapon as a fleet or an air force. "*He* knows"—that is the keynote. "Trust Him. Stop thinking—for what can *you* know, you poor creature? Do exactly as *He* tells you." What a collection of oddities the heroes of the last score years would be if you could assemble them all in one institution! It stirs the satiric imagination! Poor senile Pétain, the hero of Verdun, doddering old Hindenburg, the wooden idol, crazy Adolf at the top of his voice, Franco, the poor old forgotten Kaiser, the 1914 War Lord, who slipped out of life almost unnoticed the other day. And next to the Hero Legend comes the Lie, the Lie that is told you for your own good, the organised lies of exaggerated Patriotism, the lies about your noble "Race", the lies about your unique religion, Shinto or whatever it is, the preposterous indignation at "blasphemy"—for what sort of religion is it that wilts at a laugh?—the romantic loyalties, designed, even deliberately designed, to sustain the delusion that you and your little lot are distinct, apart from and ineffably superior to the foul, vile—whoever it is they want you to fight.

Against that mass propaganda the Ultimate Warfare has to

pit thought and knowledge. All over the world, in books, newspapers, on the air, in the cinema, and in the brain of the world, that war goes on, until at last it ends in a mutually tolerant federal human unity.

But that will not be the end of war. It will be its crowning transformation. Men will be, if anything, more aggressive, more disposed for conquest than ever, more resentful at boredom and futility. Boredom is the most urgent of spurs. The worst or best thing about this present warfare is that it bores universally. It is immensely tragic, but man can stand that; the point is that it is draggingly tragic. Never was there such distressful warfare as the Y warfare, it is overstrain without satisfaction, which is why it must certainly give way to the next phase in warfare, the Z war, that lies now openly within the reach of restless men. They will set to work on the world of possible knowledge, which is the key of power. They will liquidate ignorance as an intolerable nuisance, for mental slums are more dangerous to mankind than material ones. The men of the Ultimate War will explore the hidden wealth within our planet and the secrets of matter. They will control and increase the harvests of the sea, they will abolish waste places, end swamp and jungle, and turn the surface of the whole earth into a smiling garden. They will gain a new purchase upon their own lives; living more stoutly and longer and with a new elation. They will explore their own creative possibilities for a mightier art and a more abundant beauty. The world begins anew—if they carry on this last transformation of war to its completion.

This is not what is called idealism; this is not moral copy-book stuff. Get that notion right out of your head. This is brutal realism. This is the hard stuff men have to do and go on doing if they are not to fail altogether from the earth. Time is an irreversible process and reaction is the way of death. You cannot sit back and beg to be excused. The War into which War is now being transformed will not tolerate that. There is no way out of this war, there has been no way out of any of the wars that have preceded it, but to go up or to go down, and no war is worth fighting when the outcome

is certain. Man may fail in his last war. Many great and dominant species and classes of life have failed in the past. For a time they dominated and then they passed. Man may not rise to this ultimate transformation of war. There is no guarantee whatever that he will. But he can. To that his whole past witnesses.

Why Generals Deteriorate

A considerable and increasing proportion of the British public is enquiring more and more earnestly into the problem of our conspicuous military inefficiency. Our record of land warfare upon the western front, let us face up to it, has been shameful. Outside Europe there has been an emergence of fresh names and a progressive improvement of our military record, but in Europe, and in spite of Stalin's plain appeal to us (1941) to get busy upon the western front, there has been paralysis.

Frankly, the War Office and our authorities still dismay us. We are terrified at the bare possibility of these generals of ours giving way, as they say, to "popular clamour" while still sticking to control, and starting some wildly silly old-fashioned invasion of the Continent, because we realise that even if there was not a single German or a gun upon the western front, they would still contrive to make a mess of it. They and their associated experts and spokesmen have created that much despondency and dismay. Not one of them has been shot to hearten the country.

Blunder has followed blunder. The men have been splendid. The common soldiers fought their way out from Belgium when the generals had fairly and squarely lost the war. The Kentish longshoremen rescued an army its generals had left behind. Nothing like this incompetence discredits our other arms. Our Air Force goes on from strength to strength, the Navy and Mercantile Marine are glorious rivals, even our charwomen are heroines, and the man in the street is invincible. But the War Office stuck in the mud. The common

sense of raiding, the obvious methods, the A B C of raising the Continent against Jerry, was explained to these people over and over again, and they pretended not to hear. They were, as far as they could manage it, doing nothing while the Russians bled for us.

No doubt there was class sabotage at work, and powerful influences hostile both to Russia and democracy were holding back any British counter-attack in the west. There seemed to be something malignant in the way in which the ever-growing demand for land raids was misrepresented as a demand for a large-scale invasion of the Continent. It is no reply to a demand for one thing to retort that something else quite different would be "madness". It would be madness. That misconception was deliberate. But so far as the Army was concerned I think we must acquit the leading military people from any such disloyalty. Except for a few Mosleyite half-wits among them, their worst offence is that they are antiquated, dull and prejudiced. And as I compare our present perplexities with the records of history, I begin to realise that effective success in land war, when it has not been due to sheer weight of numbers or the aid of sea power, has been gained either by very young men (Alexander, Hoche, Napoleon, for example) or by outsiders and amateurs (Mohammed, Cromwell, the Boer generals), and that whenever the contending hosts have both been in the grip of senior military men, war has been slow and dismally inconclusive. We are dealing with a problem more universal than the arthritis of our War Office block.

One gets some inkling of the mentality of the elderly military mind in the shocking dispatches of General Gort that were issued on October 17th, 1941. General Gort is a man of outstanding piety and courage; his friendship with General Franco and the close identity of his views upon modern life with those of Generals Weygand and Pétain witness to a very real detachment of mind; nevertheless these dispatches show some of the very worst qualities of the seasoned military character. One thing manifestly obsesses him; that he was not to blame. That is his dominating idea.

He passes the buck. They seem to be all like that. Even Field-Marshal Lord Ironside has never admitted regret for the sanguinary messes he got us into. But Wavell is as frank as daylight. . . .

You see, if you look into the matter more closely you discover that, long before they are five and thirty, most brilliant young men get out of the Army. Manifestly it bores them and gives them no rational outlet for their abilities. They are discouraged from talking shop. "Theirs not to reason why." They lose the habit of thinking about war, convinced that in the Army there is nothing to be done but to do as you are told. They get out. They go into politics, business exploitation, even science. They follow the Prime Minister's pattern according to their abilities, they do other things, and when war breaks out the Army is in the hands of the unenterprising residuum. This deterioration of generals is a matter of common observation. As Field-Marshal Lord Ironside has pointed out, there is hardly a commander in the German Army who was more than a subaltern in the last war. Lucky Germany! Russia had a purge. They are having a purge in America.

The clue is plainly that in peace time the Army has nothing to do except parade and polish its buttons. The Navy and the Mercantile Marine are practically on active service whether we are at peace or at war. The sailor must face bad weather, all the tricks of the sea, the Navy must shoot at targets and so on. It may be caught short of suitable ammunition, as ours was in the Mediterranean during the Abyssinian crisis, but that is soon remedied. And unless we take the Air Force right out of the air and convert it into a household guard or something of that sort, it is still in close contact with danger and reality. You can't fool about with a ship at sea or an aeroplane in the air. The Army has no such stimuli.

Plainly the one thing the British public must demand is young men and intelligence, and the scrapping as soon as possible of these encumbering old gentlemen who still hold back our full national energy.

Now that we are tackling the problem of waste material

so strenuously, collecting every scrap of old iron, all our old pots and pans, pulverised brick and waste paper, the utilisation of generals who have to be scrapped tempts the imaginative mind. We can hardly set them to dig for victory because most of them no longer hinge at the middle; few are sufficiently alert and decorative to stand outside cinemas, and they would probably be more inclined to insist upon salutes and passwords than to facilitate admission; nor can they be trusted to stick it as sandbags. They have a high standard of monetary honesty, and it has been suggested that they should collect money on flag days and relieve young women for more serious work. But they have little of the charm that conjures money out of people. They might be dropped by parachute into Germany to create over-confidence and provide material for atrocities. . . .

But our present topic is not the problem of Blimp disposal, but to enquire how this remarkably high level of military incompetence has been achieved. It is not a mere incidental phenomenon. It goes back to the very beginnings of history. The story is in brief the history of organised warfare, it begins with the invention of "discipline". The natural man is a spasmodic and untrustworthy fighter, very violent when he is roused but very difficult to keep roused. The men who fight in cave paintings are loose scrappers, not warriors. There have only been warriors since the dawn of the early city states. The warrior appears in formation in early Sumerian carvings. There you see him in a sort of phalanx, advancing with his shield locked with that of the next man and their spears at a level making an invincible line. All down the changing historical record that body of disciplined infantrymen appears and reappears, and witnesses to the fact that without discipline and without a relation of masterful men to inferior men, the human animal is extremely disinclined to make war. People are standing this present abominable war because they want peace and employment and the normal gratifications of life. They are so peaceful and so obedient and so desirous of a stabilised life that at last they are driven like sheep to the slaughter.

Without discipline, without the ten-thousand-year tradition of class subservience, this war would dissolve away. But now that machinery and the diffusion of education has abolished a class of mere toilers altogether, the old tradition of class subordination is disappearing. The mass of humanity is asking questions that were never asked before, and particularly whether in a war to end war, the right sort of people are getting killed.

We are in the dawn of an equalitarian democracy in which the law, equal justice and team play must replace the older graded society. We are fighting a war of Revolution against the very foundations of the military spirit. This conflict is the second half-instinctive effort of the awakening human community to make a war that will end war and get rid of the hectoring class. I find myself in complete agreement with Lord Beaverbrook, as he expressed himself recently in his chief evening paper, in this respect. He called for a Minister of European Revolution. Plainly he realises that our attack upon the western front has to be a warfare of liberating young men, a straightforward war of liberation. It is no war of boundaries and powers, no struggle for "hegemony". It is either a war for World Revolution or it is another spell of nonsensical bloodshed.

This must needs make it a relentless war. The professionalism of the old generals has become intolerable. We have seen the last of it, I hope, in poor old Pétain surrendering to the Germans "as one soldier to another", and expecting to be treated with all the honours of war. From his angle it seems quite in the gentlemanly tradition to hand over his country to the conqueror and to assist in the hunt for hostages, and particularly for "Communists", when the lower classes proved recalcitrant.

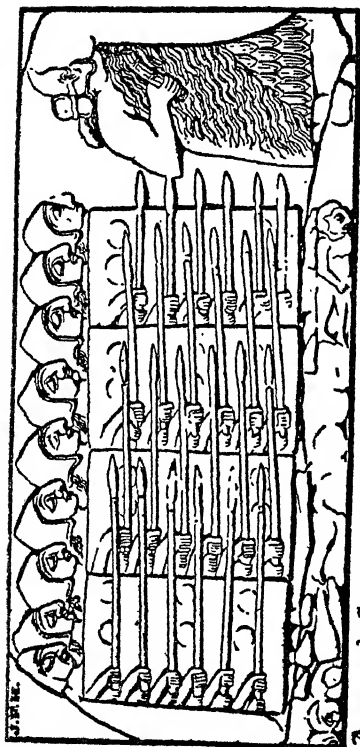
We cannot have that sort of thing in the English-speaking democracies. This is a war to vindicate and avenge the murdered millions of common people, and for the old-fashioned order it has to be grim. We can contemplate no genteel Elba business this time for Hitler and his gang. They are criminals who have to be executed, and equally execution

must be done upon Quisling and all the other Quislings who are still attempting to betray and baffle the rising tide of human indignation. This war has to be ended in such a fashion that it cannot be resumed, and that can be done most effectively by the firing squad and the hangman. A few score thousand criminals need to be shot that thereafter the millions may live in peace. V for vengeance. The millions are no longer dumb driven cattle.

A History of Discipline

It is ten thousand years or more, for the dates are still obscure, since those disciplined warriors of the priest kings of Sumeria first astounded simple men with the tramp, tramp, tramp, left, right, left, right, of armed hosts, led on to victory by superior beings in crowns, feathers, robes, wigs, and such-like adornments to overawe their fellow-creatures. They appeared as a sequel to agriculture. When man took to ploughing the earth he tied himself to the soil, and the lord and the priest and the organisers of mastery found him helpless under them. So human society, as we suffer it still to this day, with its upper and lower classes, began.

Maybe there was a sort of necessity for that social order in the crude beginnings of the *Conquest of Civilisation*, but that necessity has gone. Before the age of agriculture man was not so much free as wild; freedom dawned in cities and workshops; and still it waits for its proper symbols. In spite of the Soviet emblems, the sickle is no equivalent to the hammer. There were sickles in Sumeria—earthenware sickles. Hammer and sickle indeed! Better the fountain pen and the goniometer. The Russian collective farm uses no sickles; it is as big as it can be, and it employs the most modern and wholesale machinery it can find, so that its people can escape from their slavery to the soil and wash it off them and sit about in the evenings and read and talk, possibly sedition, in armchairs like any other armchair critics, and so achieve citizenship.



A very early Sumerian stone carving showing Sumerian warriors in phalanx

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The Conquest of Civilisation is the title of an admirable book by J. H. Breasted, and in it he gives what is perhaps the earliest record of disciplined warriors in existence, a copy of a Sumerian stone carving showing a phalanx of drilled men advancing behind their king (for some reason the top of his head is missing) and trampling on the defeated undisciplined. The original carving, if the Germans have not stolen it, is in the Museum of the Louvre. It is fully described in L. W. King's *Sumer and Akkad*. For greater clearness Breasted's picture has been re-drawn in line by J. H. Horrabin, and we repeat it here, to remind the reader of this row of heavy, stupid faces.

Since my innocent and public-spirited enquiries of why generals deteriorate were first published in the press, they have produced a very encouraging fan mail and roused several indignant military gentlemen to an unwonted epistolatory level. They were the letters of men of action rather than thought. I was reminded of my humble social origins, I was a "miserable little counter-jumper".

I shall never live down those two unhappy years of a bankrupt boyhood, and as for jumping counters, has the major ever tried it? I wish I had. It would have been a gay scene. Like frogs on a frying-pan. I doubt if in the whole course of commercial history shopmen ever did jump counters. Such athleticism would have terrified and endangered customers, driven them like sheep from the emporium, and played havoc with the stock. It is the sort of thing they are introducing now into the new army training in place of that more formal drilling of which, as he insists, I am totally ignorant. I should, he very rightly remarks, get a company into a tangle on parade in no time, and yet I presume to write about war. I sit in an armchair hurting the feelings of these gentlemen who protect me, me and my womenfolk, from indescribable subjection.

This talk of protection opens up a very fundamental problem in human relations. The English have always been very intelligently jealous of a police. As a people, they dislike protectors. They would only tolerate the "peelers", Sir

Robert Peel's first British police, if they carried nothing **more** lethal than a truncheon. The practice of carrying arms faded out only towards the close of the eighteenth century and in America it lasted much longer. Now in England we are a disarmed population. As private citizens we do not carry arms and we are unable to procure them. The second amendment (1791) to the American Constitution puts the American on an entirely different footing to that of the submissive Britisher. It runs:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms must not be infringed."

Our upper class protectors have shown the utmost reluctance to let the Home Guards keep their weapons at hand. Personally I will not carry a weapon because I think that, being irascible and inexperienced, I might kill or injure too promptly. But if I am to be taunted by half-witted Colonel Blimps about my inability to defend myself and my household I may be moved to improvise an armoury.

My own experiences of warfare have been trivial. I visited the Western Front in 1914-18, but nothing happened to upset a normally sensible person. It is not my fault that the stray shells that came over quite close to me at both Soissons and on the Carso proved to be duds, and that the singular uneventfulness of my life prevailed even in the danger zone. My conviction that in warfare the destructive moments are perhaps considerably more frequent than street accidents, but otherwise nothing to make a fuss about, was strengthened. The real horror of war is not that it kills but that it bores; it goes on and on and on.

When I went up from Amiens with the late C. E. Montague to the front line it was a pleasant sunny day, and we preferred to go thither across the open instead of crawling up a damp and undignified communication trench. We walked abreast and we were able to continue a discussion on the technique of Sterne, which interested us more than that dreary war. I do not recall any valiantly protective Blimp standing

between us and a possible shell, but I do remember a very agitated officer in a communication trench squeaking very vehemently at us to come down and paddle in his muddy zigzag. . . . Some of these officers, I am inclined to think, make too much fuss about the danger of war. It gets on their minds. It must be bad for the morale of their men.

In this later war, which is only the old War to End War of 1914-18 come back to us like a dun who has been put off with a worthless cheque, I have, with the exception of three months about Christmas, 1939, which I spent in trying to get clearer ideas about Russia and Finland into the American mind, stuck to my house in Hanover Terrace. It is on a direct line between five great railway junctions, and, though I missed the autumnal bombings, I got all the raids before September 21st and everything after January 4th, 1941: the destruction of London City and so forth. We had no end of incendiaries, one very big bomb just missed the end of the terrace and went so deep in the mud that it blew straight up instead of blowing us all flat, and I recall a beautiful night when an oil store at Marylebone Station got well alight and poured out a twinkling rain of fire in great profusion for hours. I do not recall feeling scared by any of that stuff, though my conviction that war has become intolerable, and has to be put an end to, was greatly strengthened. My chief reaction was to swear at the noise in the night. I did not rush out to put myself under the protection of the nearest military gentleman. I felt I had had all I wanted of his protection.

My household showed the same rather irritated indifference to danger. It is the normal reaction of healthy people. My cook and parlourmaid became experts with incendiaries and seemed to enjoy putting them out. A number of my neighbours left the terrace; there was a lot of such discretion due to governmental suggestion; but I do not recall anything in the nature of fear or cowardice on the part of any who remained.

This indifference to the terrors of war seemed universal in London. All through the noisiest and worst of the raids the London taximen and busmen went about their difficult busi-

ness undismayed. There was a slight irritability, but that is quite understandable if one is steering a car in uproar as well as darkness. The fact is that in a modern community, so far as physical courage goes, there remain no superior and inferior classes. The special courage of the knight and gentleman is and perhaps always has been a bluff. At most it was the advantage of the well-fed over the under-fed. I have seen people in London behaving with a conspicuous discretion, people who have been soaked, I suppose, with the "safety first" propaganda of the insurance companies until it had become a second nature, but I cannot recall a single case of abject fear. Most of those who went away went, I believe, to get out of the noise and sleep.

Yet the tradition that there is a brave leaderly class in the British community and a currish lower class that had better stand by to take orders, and needs mechanical discipline to prevent it running away, dies hard. It was alive in the British services to the very beginning of this war. The development of the British Air Force was hampered by the idea that the airman had to be a gentleman or at least genteel, and a distinction which has long ceased to be a difference was drawn and still exists between the officer and the sergeant pilot. A correspondent of *The Times* (December 1st, 1941) still finds it bad for morale that officer pilots and sergeant pilots should mess together. He is not clear why. The pilot officer gets a cross; the sergeant pilot gets a medal. The same insistence upon the combatant hero and the low vulgar engineer haunted the Navy. The Army is not alone, it is only outstanding, in its resistance to the fact that under modern conditions all the fighters must learn to co-operate and take an individual responsibility in doing so. Men who are *led* into action are men who can be *led* into captivity.

War now means all-in fighting, and no one should have authority to wave a white flag. A fighting force might be likened to a football team, but that is not really a good comparison. At football, you have a captain and a particular strategy and you play by rule for points. In the new warfare

as the Nazis have evolved it, you must fight to destroy and kill. The quintessence of their fighting is breaking the rules. Kill anyhow. If you dislike that sort of war the only way for you to end it is an equalitarian world revolution. For which, once and for all, you must fight now.

IV

TEMPERAMENTS AND TYPES AND THEIR
REVOLUTIONARY USES§ 1. *Temperamental Types*

WE can come back now to that gander (p. 9) marching almost happily to destruction with his exultant "*Tot homines, quot sententiae*" and so on. We have already pointed out that every resumption of the work of human liberation must begin, as it always has begun, with an élite. But that élite will now be different from any previous élite in the fact that, in view of the third point stressed in the preceding chapter, the evaporation of illiteracy, it will be drawn much more abundantly from what were previously the lower strata of the master and servant community than from any other strata. This new élite, like every élite before it, will be men with a vigorous revolutionary temperament in common, but it will be much more consciously classless than any previous élite.

The same fundamental changes that have destroyed the very foundations of an unequalitarian social system that has lasted for upwards of ten thousand years, in less than half a century, so that it is now in chaotic collapse, have also opened out to the constructive revolutionary, means of exchanging, clarifying and spreading ideas, educating masses of people, organising co-operations and dispelling prejudices and obsolescent notions, that were undreamt of in A.D. 1900. He has to fight to grasp and control these means with the utmost

tenacity. There is abundant reason for supposing that the new revolution will have an energy and consistency throughout a great variety of activities, far exceeding the diverse resistances it will encounter.

For let us consider the characteristics of the new revolutionary élite that is now discovering itself. Its common characteristic will be active, clear, hard-mindedness. They will be chiefly men of the sanguine temperament, who have grasped more or less fully the implications of the threefold imperatives of the human situation. They will be drawn together by their clear, cold, hard realisation of the essential rightness, and therefore the essential community, of their ideas. They will want to work out and eliminate possible differences and misunderstandings, and put their world outlook before as many possible adherents and associates as possible. That is the necessary first phase of world constructive revolution, and it is going on now. It is what has been termed the Open Conspiracy, inasmuch as it does and will continue to do its utmost by the frankest possible discussion to eliminate the ever-present danger of coagulation into small groups devoted to conspiracies for its control in the interests of some secondary purpose or the satisfaction of some rankling jealousy or vanity.

These clear hard minds will emerge to an expanding group leadership simply because they will be right and consistent, educating themselves and one another and the kindred spirits they attract, to one sustained and continuing revolutionary purpose. They will have no "leaders", no strategic key group, their guidance will be the more and more clearly conceived demands of the human situation. They will have no leaders who can be struck at, no headquarters that can be seized. The Revolution will be here; it will be there. Reaction towards the old order of things will be no more able to avert the present World Revolution than it will be able to stop the dawn. Dawn may be overclouded, cheerless and reluctant, or it may break with an immediate brightness, but there will be no return to the old darkness, unless it is the end of the world.

It may be well here to survey the types of character and thought that appear and fluctuate and develop in this awakening phase of conscious world revolution. We need equally to understand ourselves and the world problem to which we are central. We need to consider the sorts of men who will be moved to co-operate in the reconstruction of human affairs.

In this examination it is necessary to embark upon a rather technical discussion and employ a phraseology that will be unfamiliar to many revolutionary-minded readers. But it is unavoidable. We will put matters as clearly and plainly as possible, and we will ask them to believe that our later argument depends for its finality very largely upon this analysis of mental qualities. This is the stiffest piece of reading that will be inflicted upon the reader accustomed to the easy inexactitudes of current political terminology. But there is no possibility of discussing revolutionary processes to any effect if we are to talk of such phantasms as the bourgeoisie, the capitalist, the proletariat and the like.

The oldest classification of temperaments in the world, that of Hippocrates, into choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic and melancholic, has been closely scrutinised by Pavlov. He has accepted and modified it in terms of impulse and inhibition.¹

¹ Inhibition is the positive fact in all mental life. It has arisen in the animal kingdom through the advantage afforded by choice between two sets of mechanical responses in conflict. A moth has an uncontrollable mechanism to fly towards a light, which gathers force through an accumulation of stimulation, and overcomes an equally uncontrollable mechanism which has held it captive during the daylight to an attitude of camouflage on a spray of blossom or the bark of a tree. Its behaviour is the arithmetical balance of these mechanical systems in its structure. It flies into the flame without hesitation. But in the inhibitory animal there is a check on this merely arithmetical summation of direct impulses. Inhibition comes in like an auditor who challenges some or even all of the items of an account. It introduces a delay at the point where the conflict of mechanical instincts would be convulsive and disastrous. It is the scar of a previous experience. It arrests the living being with a new question, "*Which?*"

From the point of view of morphology and physiology, the history of the mind begins with the assembly of a number of sense organs into a co-ordinating group about a co-ordinating and controlling

He replaces the *choleric* by the *excitable*, which rapidly establishes and responds explosively to conditioned reflexes, the *sanguine* by the lively or labile, which does not lose its equilibrium so readily, the *phlegmatic* by the *calm* or *inert*, which is steadfast to the point of sceptical criticism, and the *melancholic* whose inhibition is entirely dominant. He calls his two middle groups, the sanguine and phlegmatic, the strong types, because of their inherent steadfastness.

Various drugs, the bromides for example, can strengthen inhibition, so as to calm the choleric to the sanguine level or the sanguine to the phlegmatic, but Pavlov says that no treatment is known that will diminish inhibition. I see no *a priori* reason why this should be so. I should have thought a drug like strychnine might be used in such a way as to increase excitability, or that cocaine or benzedrine might have had the same effect to a destructive extent. But Pavlov does not seem to have made experiments in that direction, and I offer this suggestion ignorantly for what it may be worth. The *a priori* objection is, I think, valid.

Ordinary feeding and intoxication pass one into the other by insensible degrees. I am disposed to think that the deliberate drugging of troops by excitants has played a large part in the present war and that the fantastic cruelties of the Germans are due to a temporary insanity produced in this way. Pavlov states that the excitable type is particularly susceptible to hysteria and hypnotic suggestion. It "goes to pieces" very readily, and a sanguine or phlegmatic type screwed up by excitants would be a maniac under their influence, and would collapse into melancholia and non-resistance when they were withdrawn. That was the pattern

mechanism. In the vertebrate phylum, the directorate of this co-ordination is the brain. In the brain the individual stores experiences charged either with preference or aversion, it replaces free reflex action by reflexes that are conditioned by a preceding experience or experiences. The "mental" animals display a progressive and branching development of apparatus for the storage and interaction of conditioned reflexes, of which the culmination so far is the human nervous system. At the root of the whole mental process is this *active and positive thing, inhibition, the pause for decision.*

of the behaviour of the Germans in the year 1918, and it is likely to recur now on a larger scale.

The control of food under the novel totalitarian conditions that have been forced upon all the belligerent peoples has produced hitherto unthought of facilities for administering invigorating vitamins and stimulants to everyone. The "national wheatmeal loaf" provides a means for this even in Great Britain, and until the disorganisation of positive military defeat arrests it, it is no doubt being done to a much greater extent to the Germans. Everywhere people are being under-nourished, over-strained and drugged. The opening task of World Revolution and Reconstruction is essentially pathological. . . .

These balances of excitability and inhibition are the innate qualities which give the chief genotypes with which we have to deal. By a "genotype" Pavlov refers to our inherited natural temperament. But from birth onward the varying intellectual equipment (education in its broader sense) of the individual, determines the range and quality of the mental activities and so presents us with a wide range of what Pavlov calls "phenotypes" imposed upon the essential elemental genotypes.

As the idea of a constructive revolutionary movement spreads about the world, it will draw into its orbit individuals of all these kinds, and it is necessary to have as definite an estimate as possible of the position of ourselves and our actual or would-be associates or antagonists in the vast task before us. Since, this time, it has to be an open conspiracy, we are debarred from party discipline and the party line. We have to scrutinise the temperamental quality of the men and women we shall work with much more closely and frankly than any revolutionary movement has done in the past, and we have to be exceedingly wary of confusing our adventure with untrustworthy associates. We have to carry on a propaganda of ideas, and that is already copiously afoot, but we have to bring together those ideas into a simple and lucid unification, and that for many reasons is not going on as rapidly as the swiftness of events requires; more talk and write

than heed and think; and we have to set about a sedulous elimination of an encumbering and confusing multitude of undesirable associates.

This eliminatory task is an invidious one, but it is unavoidable. The élite of the world revolution can only consist of certain definite genotypes and has to have, to develop, a common phenotype. Possible associates who may stray from effective work have to be chastened by unflattering brotherly comment and recalled to their due co-operation, and hopeless detrimentals have to be detached and got rid of. To disentangle and clear out the rotten and decaying wood is more imperative for this revolution than for any previous one.

Let us begin with the genotypes, and at first with those at the two extremes that Pavlov calls "weak" because they break sooner. And, to begin with, is what, following Hippocrates, he calls the *choleric*, and then modifies into the swiftly *excitable*. "Choleric" is a bad name, since it suggests only a raging and shouting individual, violent, aggressive and intolerant. But the excitable type may also include phenotypes who have acquired a considerable amount of self-control. They can all pick up systems of conditioned reflexes very readily and sometimes very uncritically, and they are apt to be inconsistently generous and enthusiastic. Bottom the Weaver is an excellent caricature of this type in its uncontrolled state. As you will remember, he wanted to play all the parts in *Pyramus and Thisbe*. He is to be found in most of the experimental movements for world reconstruction that confuse the mental scene to-day. There are the wealthy worthies who find the means for periodicals, premises, gatherings, staffing and the like conveniences, because they have been struck by an idea and had a Pauline conversion to the new Gospel. They believe the particular notion that has seized them is the whole project, and that they have bought up the Revolution for its own good just to show it how to set about its business.

From these Patrons, who are quasi-well-meaning, we pass without any great transition right out of the revolutionary atmosphere to the adventurous newspaper proprietor with

political ambitions, who employs his left-hand men just as he employs his right-hand men, for the advancement of his own complex protean and essentially silly dream of a great career. No clear-minded revolutionary movement can remain clear-headed if it entangles itself with those bright left-hand men, however valiantly they speak and write, until they purge themselves completely from any suspicion of being controlled. One declared objective of a constructive revolution is to deprive all these people of their monetary advantages completely, and reduce them to the common level, and the only possible way in which they can be of use to us is to hand over any money they feel moved to hand over, ear-marked for some definitely revolutionary purpose, to a properly-constituted committee in which they will have no part whatever, and to think no more about it.

But as a previous world revolutionary has remarked, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to escape from the obsession of his possessions. He cannot believe there are things that cannot be bought. This applies very definitely to a number of recognisable figures who are manifestly attracted by and even generously sympathetic with constructive world revolution. The Revolution will use every facility such people can afford it to further and consolidate its propaganda, but there is not going to be any *quid pro quo* in the business, nor any spark of gratitude.

As we have already said, it is not simply the moneyed, excitable genotypes who are disposed in a mood of magnanimity to take complete control of the Revolution. There is the still ampler fund of enthusiasm brought in by Bottom the Weaver. In a state of inflamed cerebration and headlong impatience, they set about deciding and organising the entire business of world affairs. Whenever two or three revolutionary spirits meet together for co-operative action, there they are, irrelevant, inattentive and irresponsible, in the midst of them. They listen to nothing, they interrupt everything, their intolerable vanity obliges them to thrust themselves between any sane and balanced propaganda and the public. What they do not understand, and that is most of the impli-

cations of a world revolution, has to be repudiated, distorted or ignored. They must have a finger in every pie.

This craving to be meddlesome and omnipresent has been exploited by the showman side of the British Broadcasting Corporation and also by various transatlantic radio systems. There a number of these Bottoms who are ostensibly leading a liberal world movement have been induced to exhibit themselves periodically as a "Brains Trust", answering silly questions that are sprung upon them, exchanging gross mutual flatteries, and displaying a giggling insensibility to the grim realities that close in so swiftly upon mankind. Such fun! The Revolution can have no dealings with those who lend themselves to this grinning at the public through horse-collars for money and so bring down the idea of an urgently needed intellectual renaissance to the level of a burlesque. No diabolical reactionary could have planned a more effective reply to the appeal for thought. How can we dispose of this nuisance upon the flank of our movement?

These Bottom genotypes are the *enfants terribles* of the world of thought, and it is difficult to know what to do about them. Their inherent idiosyncrasies can break through all the advantages of a liberal education. The only thing for the developing revolution to do is to explain them clearly, ruthlessly and continually to themselves and to the world. Some may be chastened and returned penitent and in a more lucid state of mind to a serviceable co-operation with the movement. Some must just be kept away by whatever literary missiles may be most effective.

The need for a searching mutual observation and criticism, more particularly among those in the cardinal services of the movement, cannot be exaggerated. Some sort of psychotherapy may be needed. The early Bolsheviks, many of whom were finally "liquidated", had a powerful sense of subjugation to the Revolution, and would accuse themselves of error and disloyalty, and submit to be sacrificed, rather than break its march by sustained dissent. The World Revolution needs a touch of that self-abnegation.

There are, moreover, types of the sanguine and excitable

categories who are honestly devoted to the movement, but devoted with a jealous bitterness. They give themselves to the movement, but with considerable reservations. They marry it and it is theirs and they resent the intervention of outsiders. They mean to cut a figure, and perhaps a conspicuous figure, in it as it rises to dominance in the world. They would rather form part of a leading coterie than draw strangers into co-operation. Far rather would they drive out possible rivals and keep them out. They have the manners of a yapping house-dog to every unknown caller. They denounce heresy with an ultra-theological hatred.

There were much the same types among the early Fathers of the Christian Church in its formative days, and it is hard to say where narrow zeal ended and personal ambition and sheer ego-centred spite and jealousy of abler or more effective associates came in. Such difficult types are the problem children in every great upheaval of the human spirit, and they have to be studied very carefully, because they range between individuals who are hopelessly intractable and those who may conceivably be chastened into self-controlled and even self-forgetful service. But since the World Revolution hopes to draw the central body of its movement from men of science and exceptional lucidity, since it starts at a higher level of hard clear-mindedness and draws upon an accumulation of mental and philosophical thought beyond all precedent, it may hope to deal with these disgruntled and bad-tempered associates far more swiftly and conclusively than was possible at any previous stage of the human struggle. It can be frank with them, explain them and expose them. If in their vexation they misbehave to the extent of becoming Quislings and traitors, they are bound to take the consequences a struggle for world reconstruction may inflict upon them.

These phenotypes, ranging between the would-be revolutionary "leader" by purchase, at one extreme, and the would-be revolutionary "leader" by invincible vanity, at the other, do not exhaust the possibilities of the excitable type that Pavlov has substituted for the old Choleric Temperament. These are inferior cases. The excitable type at its best is

vitaly important in human adaptation. This sort of mind, when it is not blinded by false ideas of ownership or uncontrollable personal conceit, is capable of an exceptional and even self-forgetful concentration upon one system of activities, it can work with divine freedom, and so it gives us, among others, those outstanding priceless intelligences who break new ground in philosophy, scientific research and art.

Pavlov, regardless of such cases as Leonardo, Durer and Velasquez, would make a distinction, an opposition almost, that I find fundamentally unsound, between science and art. The relationship of what we call a man of genius to a revolutionary movement was discussed in *A Modern Utopia* (1905), and it has been worked out in the in-and-out membership of the Communist Party. In the *Modern Utopia* there is a rough practical classification of phenotypes into the *poietic* (creative and inventive type), the *kinetic* (the sane and able administrative type), the *dull* and the *base*. This is a practical classification which runs askew to the Temperamental divisions. The dull are mainly the inert or inhibitory, but any type may be inspired by base ideas.

In that *Modern Utopia*, which is thirty-seven years now from modernity, the *kinetics* "run the show", but the *poietics* animate it. There have been these intervening years of experience to warn us against giving one man the power to control another. In the Sankey Declaration of the Rights of Man, and especially in Article 6 of that Declaration, you will see how very carefully the *poietic* type is protected from possible frustration by the uncompromising will-to-organise of the *kinetic*. Open conspiracy, sustained freedom of expression, is the key idea of a progressive world revolution.

But all "*poietic energetics*" are not men of genius. Their idea of themselves may be a mistaken one, and, even in a world of frank, free criticism, many may achieve a certain amount of success with delusive gifts. But the new world will be productive enough to give these quasi-geniuses their chance, and penetrative enough in its criticism to suffer no great damage from them. It will be well enough off to afford to speculate in genius, because it will be better business for

one odd genius to emerge from a score of impostors and self-deceivers rather than that one particular gift should be lost by premature frustration.

There are still other categories of these temperamental types. There are the men who blurt things out, without any very delicate creative gift, they may still be useful in apprehending and insisting upon some disregarded or insufficiently apprehended verity. They blurt it out and insist upon it and repeat it. (I suppose the author of this book falls into this group.) In the formative stage these blurters may be of very great service indeed as a corrective to those calm or inert types to whom we shall presently call attention.

But first let us consider Pavlov's other "weak" type, the inhibitory, or, as the old classification went, the melancholic. It is the only type for which a revolutionary movement has no use. Typically it recoils and refuses. The positiveness of war and of a revolution to end war stir it to an equal repugnance. It invents objections and excuses for every positive action, and, on the higher levels of education and intelligence, gutters down almost inevitably to the dismal self-abuse of pure æstheticism or mysticism.

Mr Aldous Huxley has produced a remarkable literature of inhibition, from *Brave New World*, a prolonged sneer at the vulgarity of human hope and courage, to *Grey Eminence*, in which he takes a forcible-feeble masochist and sadist and presents him as a conflict of mysticism and worldliness, not so much out of ignorance as out of an uncontrollable disposition to expound his own doctrine of contemplative detachment from the world. His associate, Gerald Heard, has illuminated this mystical defeatism of the inhibitionist in a book with the comprehensive and soundly marketable title of *Pain, Sex and Time*. It is pervaded by a dream of a comfortable blend of monastic and collegiate life rather on the lines worked out by certain "Tantric Yogins" who achieved apparently enormous psychic powers and lived to great ages by a technique involving a light meal every four hours to avoid the rumbling distraction of hunger, meditation in comfortable surroundings, and a beneficial use of prolonged coitus interruptus. (Mr

Heard would be interested in the literature of the Perfectionist Community of Oneida.) But where, he laments, is that comfortable retreat from the world to be found in these last terrible days? That book dates from 1940, and he and Aldous Huxley must be further than ever now from that dream of cloistered exaltation, with meals every four hours and solitary meditation in between.

Huxley writes with skill and evident erudition, and he has lowered the vitality of many impressionable youngsters who might have been won to the service of the revolution. He raises no problem of what use we can make of him, because he is, for any positive purpose, entirely useless. He is marked out as the perfect material for a display dissection in a museum of psychic surgery.

And now we can turn to the "strong" types, as Pavlov calls them, the essential "sane" and balanced people, and estimate the quantity and quality of their share in the coming reorganisation of human affairs. It is to the sanguine we must look for the main accumulation of constructive revolutionary energy. They are capable not only of grasping new ideas systematically but also of acting upon them. One primary enterprise before our hard-minded, clear-headed élite, itself composed largely of excitable, poetical and sanguine characters, will be to put its clear-cut realisation of the human situation before as many in this category as possible, trusting to the essential rightness of their beliefs to secure the continual adhesion of more and more of these active, bright intelligences to the general movement.

The calm, inert types into which the sanguine passes by insensible gradations, will attend less willingly because they are less disposed for disturbance, but they will attend and understand when the movement begins to affect their comfort and security. Then they may resist or accept it according to their knowledge and judgment. If they resist, it will take the forms of defensive criticism and quiet sabotage. Such men are the natural civil servants of any social order in which they find themselves and the trusted managers of routine businesses.

They will always prefer to do their job so as to keep out of trouble. Exhilarating or depressing circumstances may shift them up and down the scale to or from the sanguine quality. Faced with the present vast change in human affairs, some of them may solve their own personal problems by suicide or a hopeless collapse and surrender that relieves them from immediate responsibility. "What can one *do*?" they ask—like the blameless General Gort. Everything has been against them. They have been let down. The sanguine, on the other hand, fight on by temperamental necessity, and the first task of the revolution is to see that they fight with a minimum waste and on a clear common understanding of the revolutionary purpose.

This is the varied material from which the world revolution must assemble itself, and that assembly can be brought about only by a propaganda of reality. The revolutionary movement must assemble itself through the clear, definite understanding of an increasing number of people of the fundamental necessity for the threefold changes I have stated in Chapter II, and the entire subordination of every other revolutionary activity to that.

There is no need whatever to enrol members in a Party—the Revolution does not need to be a Party and will never be a Party, because it is a movement concerned with the whole indivisible world and necessarily it will have the support of every properly instructed constructive and lucid-minded man. There is no need for oaths, admissions, baptisms, confirmations or the like. Since there is only one world for us to deal with, there can be only one comprehensive system of truth about it, and the better genotype and phenotype a man is, the more completely will he see eye to eye with his moral and intellectual equals about the primary form of that truth.

§ 2. *Revolutionary Strategy*

Beginning with its initial discussions and propaganda, the growing movement will from the outset develop activities for

the preservation of free expression and free writing. Every new revolutionary start in the world produces a larger volume of writing—activities for the publication and the world-wide distribution of its essential ideas, and of its primary books, against whatever resistance they may arouse, and activities for the modernisation of education throughout the world upon definitely revolutionary lines. All these activities will need their own *ad hoc* associations and their regional and local nuclei, and these associations will bring what we may call the foundation Open Conspirators together in close collaboration.

But as the movement grows, its activities will multiply. It has to bring the breadth and power of its primary ideas to the release, modernisation and co-ordination of industrial organisations, production, monetary problems, population movements and so forth and so on, throughout the whole body politic of the world. For they have to make a unity. The jig-saw puzzle will not come together of itself. Much current discussion of the various forms of human relationship in a renascent society still hangs in the air, beginning nowhere and ending nowhere. But these discussions have to be taken in their proper order and rigorously interlocked if they are to be an effective part of the Revolutionary plan. Well-intentioned sanguine people will discuss money without any preliminary discussion of property, regardless of the fact that the nature of money is entirely conditioned by the things that can be bought and sold. There is a vast entirely useless literature on the subject, and hundreds of profoundly ridiculous "experts" all basing their proposals upon existing usages. Others again will take up the distribution of population in a region, without a glance at the preliminary issue whether it is to be a self-subsisting region or part of a freely migratory, freely trading world systems. They will plan their garden cities and their industrial layout with reference to conditions that dissolve and change like the patterns in a kaleidoscope.

The new Revolution cannot tolerate all this fragmentation of progress, and so it will have to be developing activities and forming a network of associations to carry them on in harmony with one another and the fundamental propaganda.

To a number of these practical associations we shall return in our later chapters, but here we can state the general idea, which is the development in farm, factory, mine and transport services and so on, of methods of working by and through the workers and management, that is to say the "operatives", which will deprive ownership and finance of any control whatever.

Each world industry will be developing its particular problems and experimenting where necessary; each growing concern, great or small, must become a cell in a new world organism, and it will be the rôle of the propaganda and educational associations to maintain and stimulate interchange visits, conferences and contacts, and sustain a rigid respect for the threefold fundamental requirements which will have to hold the whole complex together. The people in the cellules will know each other and the central groups in their own industries, but they may need to know or meet very few of the rank and file in the other great economic systems of the state. It will be the business of the initiatory propaganda and educational groups to keep the common peace of the movement. These accumulations of cells will grow by insensible degrees into the constituencies and ministries of the reorganised world. A very excellent primary activity for the dissemination of the budding ideas of Revolutionary Reconstruction is the Youth Forum movement. A small group begins as a reading and discussion circle. As its ideas clarify it establishes correspondence with kindred nuclei. They become a propaganda network holding together the specialist nuclei in a common understanding. Wherever opportunity occurs they must become bi-lingual and carry the promising ideas across language barriers. It is urgent to have an unambiguous translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in operation in as many countries as possible. This is a World Revolution and it is the mere accident of opportunity that it is launched first of all in English.

World revolution, we have to insist continually and we underline it here, is a transformation and not a creation; its spirit is creative but the material for its creative work is given;

it is the transformation of the collapsing chaotic confusions of obsolescent methods of living in our world, into an orderly system of stably progressive relationships, and that transformation must deal with the world *as a going concern* which cannot close down even for a day. Every day people must be fed, sheltered, reassured, given hope, interest and employment. They will have to be going about their business and everyone will need some sort of sleeping place. The pigs will have to be fed, the cows milked, the clocks wound. Revolution, we must repeat, is a job of readjustment and not the creation of something new out of the void. It must go on changing things without intermission, the new for the old. In detail it is an extremely long and complicated job.

This idea we will elaborate a little in the next chapter. It is no good going up into a high place and blowing a great trumpet, proclaiming that the Revolution has occurred, and that this is the First Day of the First Year of the New Era. The little boy scaring crows in one of the fields downhill, will just look up for a moment, wonder for a moment, and then go on scaring crows.

Later on, too, we must come to the most practical question of all, the necessity of using power for the overthrow and permanent suppression of mastery and aggressive violence. This means the transformation of all the armies and militant services in the world, all the police, prisons and criminal and international law, into a nexus of restraint upon violence. We are approaching a time when a whole generation of young men and many young women will have been called up for military uses without learning any other sort of technique than killing or the preparation for killing. Many of them may still be susceptible of combatant patriotism, and the old priestcraft will combine with new adventurers of the Otto and Gregor Strasser type to exploit these untrained and uneducated young people. Gangsterism breeds gangsterism, and there is a great danger of increasingly scoundrelly bully organisations in the years ahead. The Revolution must prepare for a physical as well as a mental struggle.

At present men's minds are much too obsessed by the

urgency of combat. "First win the war", the war against warfare, they say. That sounds practical common sense. It is nothing of the sort. This warfare knows no bounds and no ending but the establishment of a power-wielding new order in the world, an order which does not yet exist. The Quaker remedy is unimpressive. Penn, the immediate disciple of George Fox, established capital punishment in Pennsylvania. Appeasement is out of fashion, and the forcible elimination of violence and the dispersal of power is a *sine qua non* in any revolutionary scheme.

How is that to be brought about? There is an adequate answer to this question, and we will deal with it in its place.

V

RECONSTRUCTION DEALS WITH REAL PEOPLE

BUT first— . . .

Repetition is a necessary feature of propaganda in a world that reads inattentively. So that at this point I will repeat the suggestion conveyed by the figure of that little scarecrow boy on the hill-side in a rather different form. We are considering the possibility of deflecting the headlong rush of mankind to destruction, into the strait, narrow and difficult way of World Revolution. We are setting about that now with the world as it is.

What are we going to do with all the swarming multitude of unsuitable people who constitute the great majority of mankind? We want peace on earth and good will to all men. That alone precludes the idea of cleaning the slate by a world-wide massacre. Even if it were not—let us use a mild adjective—anti-social, it would be impracticable. The Japanese have tried a combination of direct murder and drug propaganda on the Chinese, and the Germans have done their

utmost to eliminate Poles, Jews, Russians and the like from the regions they propose to colonise in Europe, but none of their most drastic efforts have been successful. There is always a resistant nucleus with incalculable possibilities of recovery. People like the Armenians have been massacred for centuries and they seem to thrive on it. The Revolutionary Reorganisation we contemplate is no massacre; it is a salvage movement; it is not a Renaissance, it is a World Reformation. So let us dismiss any anticipation of a clean slate for the Revolution. There will be no clean slate.

What, then, are we going to do with Major General Blimp, the aged but still elegant Miss Lydia Languish, Bill Sykes, the prostitutes of Piccadilly, Sir Oswald Mosley, the ambiguous and ambidextrous Lord Beaverbrook, with his left-hand men and his right-hand men, Journalistic Fortune Tellers, Lord Camrose, Lord Moyne, the Teutophile Pope, the Aga Khan, Al Capone, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, the Communist Party, Area Sneaks, Habitual Drunkards, Rural Deans, any surviving Nazis, Mr. Gandhi, Otto Strasser, the British and American banking interests which still entertain a wistful hope that the Japanese will pay them later for the oil, metals and other war material that they have been selling at such thumping good prices right up to the outbreak of the Japanese declaration of war, the kindred Soong banking nexus, and so forth and so on?

There is not going to be some particular day when The Revolution will be proclaimed. There is not going to be an Inauguration after which we are all to run about with shining eyes in a state of millennial mutual congratulation, calling everybody Tovarish and behaving more beautifully than we ever dreamt we could. Some people may succumb to moods of revolutionary intoxication but these lovely moments are likely to be local and transitory. Out of this clotted mass of two thousand million (as statisticians still say it is, though maybe it is dwindling), two thousand million obdurate, irrational human beings, we have to build a new world, and we propose to do it as our proper contemporary selves, because it is the only rational thing to do, without any physical or

sentimental drugging. We want to deflect the whole rout into a new way of living and keep it there.

Now as we look over this bag of problems, to which every reader will immediately be adding fresh names, and consider its various possibilities, it resolves itself into certain main sorts. There are for example the people who are plainly destined to be eliminated by the disorder of destruction in which we are living. Our attitude to them must be in many cases protective. A reasonable revolution would see to it that Miss Languish had a warm corner somewhere and a supply of fiction and some dear old treasure of the upper servant class to look after her and tyrannise over her and agree with her about the vulgarity and horror of the times. The poor lady's investments must already be shrunk very cruelly, taxation squeezes down on her, and we want to save her from the Charity Organisation Society and the public shame of being dealt with as a Decayed Gentlewoman. There will be no more Miss Lydia Languishes ever again, and she is at least as valuable an antique as the green and pink Victorian wine glasses our museums are accumulating. A small pension seems to meet the case, as it meets the case of poor old Major General Blimp, incapable, useless, reviled, and dimly aware of it. He and his self-respect may take refuge in Residential Service Clubs. Many a highly indurated batman or game-keeper will find a place in such institutions. We need only make it difficult and complicated to refuse old age pensions, and we shall get such distresses of old fogeyism off our consciences.

Another and more intriguing class that we may extract from this huge dustbin we have swept together is the men and women who ought to be and might be in the world revolution with us. They grew up in positions of great advantage and amusement in the old order of things and are only now beginning to realise that it has fallen and can never be restored. Take for example this fine-minded scholar with his outstanding intelligence, the Aga Khan, a man of the world, great owner of racehorses, a European gentleman, an Oriental potentate, a sacred personage, so sacred that when he drinks

alcohol or eats bacon it is turned to innocuous matter at his touch, who has taken the world as he found it and so long as it seemed stable and entertaining, if a trifle ridiculous, found no reason to quarrel with it. Possibly its ceremonies and obligations bored him at times, but there was little to bring him into contact with the under-side of life until this present world collapse began. Why, then, should he align himself seriously now with the stupidities of resistance? Why should he not discover a new and more vivid interest in life in this great adventure of world reconstruction?

Or how are we to deal with our Red Archbishop who induced the Malvern Conference to condemn Ownership and go all out for a socialist order of society? There are many men in the Church as little tainted with religious superstition as any sane modernist, but they find themselves in the Church and they excuse themselves by the plea that in that position they can tone down the teaching of dogma and do good social work that would otherwise be impossible for them. All these half-hearted Liberal Churchmen are, if not exactly allies, co-belligerents against the old order. The hard, clear formulæ of the Revolution may exclude them from the direct Revolutionary declaration, but, except for a quibble or so, many of them are quite honest men, their interests are not vitally anti-social, and in the case of this World Reconstruction before us, he who is neither openly nor secretly against us, is for us.

In most of the social collapses of the past, the obstinate unimaginative resistance of classes and organisations called upon to adapt themselves to a new state of affairs that will deprive them of obvious but obsolescent advantages, their open obduracy and their efforts at sabotage, have been all too provocative to the impatient revolutionary. There is a combative disposition to treat them "rough" and to treat them more roughly than an all-powerful and all-confident revolution should do. Better over-do things than under-do them, is on the whole a sound maxim. We do not want our Revolution to be fierce, but rather a little fierceness than any excess of amiability and appeasement.

But apart from the danger to the revolutionary process that

may justify a certain uncompromising militancy, there are other motives, very human and understandable, that the new world revolution will nevertheless have to keep under control. All over the world since the master and man societies developed, there has been also a smouldering and hitherto uncrystallised sense of indignity, which the onset of revolutionary ideas will liberate, and which is bound at first to express itself in crude and uncreative vindictiveness.

This outbreak of vindictiveness has always been most apparent on the past occasions when the winds of revolution have been blowing, where human beings have been most oppressed and under-educated. Every ruling class and every master system provides the pattern for its own punishment. It has taken the form of château burning whenever the château has been the responsible centre of power, and whenever the tightly organised mental suffocation of the Roman Catholic Church has been dominant, the reprisals of the release period have been conspicuously sacrilegious, blasphemous and outrageous. The priest and the nun and the sacred fane have asked for desecration and got it. The desire of the woman in the hovel to give her ladyship a spell of hovel life and "see how *she* likes it", is overpowering for her. But it must not be overpowering for the new Revolution. That is where the developing World Revolution of to-day goes ahead of its Russian predecessor. Even the phrasing of the U.S.S.R. Constitution of 1936 is pervaded by the idea that citizenship is confined to individual workers and peasants by birth and inheritance (the so-called proletariat) and by the lingering possibility of discrimination against the children of the "deprived classes". Nothing is gained by an interchange of rôles. "Jack as good as his master" is sound democracy, but he is no better. Let daylight into the schools by all means, but that is no reason for smashing stained-glass windows or turning a raceful Lady Chapel into a sanitary convenience. We may have to protect our antagonists as far as possible from the harvest of resentment they themselves have sown.

But they are our antagonists nevertheless. The Revolution must fight and fight sternly against the open enemy and the

traitor within. Not only killing in battle but executions are necessary in this imperfect world. If we had an overwhelming preponderance of wise, good, devoted people to serve as doctors, mental attendants, turnkeys, wardens and the like, we might treat all the recalcitrant, even the most violent, as cases for reformation. Unhappily we have not that moral superiority available. But we can at least clear our minds of the self-righteous pretence that the killing that may have to happen is punitive. It must not be so. It has to be exemplary. We kill the traitor not to serve him out but "*pour encourager les autres*". We mark the Quisling and the torturer down to live the hunted lives of criminals and be a warning to the world. "Think twice", we say to the hesitating sadist and the potential traitor, "before you play with human life and human hope. We may have to make an example of you. There will be no going back for you, and you too in spite of yourself may have the honour thrust upon you of dying for the people."

The world now is a great confusion of fighting to which the World Revolution alone can make an end. The Revolution as it makes its way to power may have to throw its weight here or there, as it finds a combatant most in accordance with its purposes. Its hard clear-headedness must determine its strategy. But it will be most convenient to defer a discussion of its rôle in international politics to a later chapter.

VI

THE ELIMINATION OF OWNERSHIP

IT is the purpose of this book to state in the hardest and clearest terms and, whenever it may seem necessary, to reiterate, the conditions for a Revolutionary World Reconstruction. In the second chapter, *The Threefold Imperative*, its threefold primary idea was stated. It was the idea of a unifying federation to override and consolidate the present

dangerous fragmentation of the direction of human affairs. The triple headings involved the limitation and supersession (1) of political sovereignty, (2) of the private ownership and direction of the general economic organisation of mankind and (3) of the master and subject relationship, by an equalitarian fundamental law throughout the world.

This triune programme is also definitely and clearly stated in the Sankey Declaration of the Rights of Man, given in full in the Appendix to this book. Yet the reception accorded the plainest statements of this fundamental conception of Revolutionary World Reconstruction has convinced me that in many cases they have fallen upon completely deaf ears, and that once again it is necessary to restate them as plainly and aggressively as possible.

For example, I find that after a considerable effort to secure the worthy Pandit Nehru freedom of movement and discussion in India, he is either too stupid or else for some obscure political reason pretending to be too stupid to understand the plain and clear statements of human equality and co-operation embodied in that Declaration of Rights. He will have nothing to do with World Revolution. I put it to him plainly, and all I got in reply was a clumsy effort to misrepresent me as a participant in some obscure and unimportant conflict between his Congress Party, which professes to represent the political aspirations of a non-existent Indian "nation", and an equally evanescent British Raj. His intelligence has coagulated into the forms of that remote dispute, and he seems totally unable to rephrase his activities to the new occasions that confront us.

But he is only one of a great multitude of such cases of impenetrable deafness. Just as Mr Winston Churchill is totally unable to grasp the fact that "the British Empire", with the Statute of Westminster, gave place to the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1931, so a very great number of people can read over the Sankey Declaration of Rights, "agree with every word of it", find it an "inspiring document" and so forth, and then go on with the manifest assumption that here will still be a stock exchange, a credit control of enterprise through the banks, and the profit-seeking interposition of

private ownership between the producer and consumer in the reconstructed world ahead of us.

Once again, then, let us stress the fact that a Revolutionary Reconstruction of the world includes *the abolition of private property* except in quite personal and intimate things, in for example individual tools, clothes, private studios and laboratories, works of art, domestic decorations and the like. The large-scale private ownership of land, natural products, transport and industrial organisations of all sorts, has served its purpose, and, with the abolition of distance, has become a manifest impediment and a corruption of human affairs, a blackmail upon progress. How obsolete, demoralising and dangerous the intervention of large-scale private ownership may become has been demonstrated in the most vivid way by the course of events in the latter part of 1941 and the opening months of 1942. We have had an opportunity of contrasting the morale of a highly socialised community with that of a community saturated with acquisitive ideas. The condemnation of "ownership" is complete.

I have always played the part of a candid friend to the Russian system; there are grave defects in its necessarily experimental organisation, there are legacies from an autocratic past and there have been excesses of zeal, suspicion and vindictiveness, but I have never faltered in my conviction that the regime was enormously better and healthier on account of the elimination of private ownership in the material and apparatus of production and distribution. In 1914 Russia was three hundred years behind Western Europe, in a state of mediæval ignorance and inefficiency; she is now leading the war.

The war, so far as the major conflict between Germany and Russia is concerned, is essentially the war of a social system freed from big business and finance against a militant gangsterism, originally subsidised by such plutocratic types as Thyssen, Hugenberg and Krupps to counter-attack the undeniable "menace of Bolshevism" to all that the private appropriation of human resources involves. That strange American Nazi, Colonel Lindbergh, and an influential section

of the American press, still keeps open campaign against the "Menace" in America, although the menace has hit back at the Nazis far harder than the United States has yet done.

All the original Nazi toughs, Rudolf Hess, Otto and Gregor Strasser, Goering, Hitler and Co., made the attack upon Bolshevism the primary item in their programmes. Muddle-headed people, anxious to ignore this fact, will tell you that, because of superficial resemblances in intolerance and the latter phases of leadership in Russia, there is no real difference between National Socialism and Communism. As plain matter of fact their declared antagonism is fundamental, and it gives the social atmosphere of the normal Russian and the Russian community a solidarity and a manifest moral superiority to anything possible in a society based on acquisition. And that applies not only to the German Reich but to the rest of the Western world.

The unconscious moral degradation to which people brought up in the master-servant tradition that has oppressed the great majority of human beings for the past hundred centuries can sink, is shown in a letter which was published in *The Times* on Friday, January 7th, 1842, and reprinted by that paper exactly a hundred years later. This extract runs:

"Though I am a very humble individual, I beg respectfully to call your attention to one (public grievance) which is of vital importance. . . . I allude to the almost entire disappearance from amongst us of the respectable body of good and trustworthy servants of all work. . . . Girls of 13 years of age and upwards, who would, if they were willing, add a little to the wages of their parents, or contribute towards getting their own livelihood, prefer living in idleness and poverty, unless they can get places as ladies' maids, housemaids, where a footman is kept, nursery governesses, etc.—places in which they will have little to do, high wages, fine dresses (in their way), and be as little under control as possible."

"Thus 'Senex' in a letter to the Editor on a perennial 'public grievance'. As for the cause, 'I will fearlessly assert it is the extensive system of education pursued in our parochial and national schools'."

Could anything be meaner? Such a creature would be capable of cannibalism. It hates and resents the faint and feeble thirst for freedom of those poor little children of thirteen. They are escaping! Plainly the letter was written in good faith; it must have evoked approval, and in it you have a clue to the forces that have gradually disintegrated Western society as the abolition of distance and the release of mechanical power, have inflated possibilities of exploitation by an acquisitive social order to a world-wide scale.

Senex had neither the imagination nor the humanity to apprehend what was coming to his social order. He was not a wicked creature, planning diabolically; he was merely an entirely stupid creature, morally as well as mentally. And if we look back over the happenings of the past half-century we shall review a process of self-destruction by the big business Western democracies, unique in its unimaginative stupidity. They have got nothing out of it. They are bankrupt and doomed already. They imagine that Bolshevisation intends to destroy them, and they have a common fear and hatred of it. The Bolsheviks need not trouble. Loss of the material advantages of these last vestiges of the acquisitive order lies straight ahead, and the inevitable inflation will reduce their bank books to waste paper. The business of the constructive World Revolution is to go on working out the crude tentatives of Bolshevism to an equalitarian World Socialism and so salvage mankind after the self-destruction of the private ownership system.

I have already noted (see footnote, p. 14) how the destruction of the American Pacific fleet was achieved almost entirely with material supplied to Japan by the American profiteers, but that is only a special instance of what business exploitation will do. One of the greatest ramps in the present final flurry of private exploitation is the international iron and steel

industry. For the past half-century there has been what is called an armaments race, and it is still in happy progress. A big battleship is in itself a clumsy useless thing, vulnerable from above and from below. As early as 1911 someone was writing in the *Daily Mail*, "Put not your trust in Dreadnoughts." But there was too much profit in the business to stop the great armaments race. The most obvious antagonist for the British Admiralty to tackle involved the Baltic, where battleships are totally useless. What was needed was an intelligent development of submarines and specially designed and comparatively inexpensive craft, but that was small beer to the racing naval expert.

Almost the first thing to happen on the sea in 1914 was the torpedoing of three British cruisers, and then the Grand Fleet went up to Scapa Flow and waited behind mine-fields for the Germans to come out. The arms race was resumed after 1918. There was an attempt to regulate it in the Washington Conference of 1921: regulate it, not get rid of it. Steadily the cost of the big battleships mounted up towards ten millions, bad for the world at large, but the more of them that are sunk the greater the profits of the dealers in iron and steel. Now we are going ahead at it faster than ever. Every ship that goes to the bottom has to be replaced, and private enterprise is prepared to replace it on its own magnificent terms.

But who will pay this profiteering private enterprise in the end is another question. The great British and American and Chinese banking interests behind that enterprise will do their best for them, but banking had a glimpse of reality and a phase of vertigo in the great credit collapse of 1933. Banking was revived by hope and the New Deal, but it has carried on with a stagger ever since. America has enormous gold hoards and the holistic Dominion of South Africa is largely dependent on its gold mining. There is no real use for this gold in the world now except for artistic purposes, but the chief theme of our financial press and literature is the problem of how to reanimate money, and re-selling this gold generally comes into the scheme. As the world slides towards inflation the universal values in bank transactions rise, and most of the great banks in

Britain paid increasing dividends for 1941. We are getting more and more money which is worth less and less. Our common wage-earners are being brought into the income tax paying class, which demands an ever-increasing need for clerical labour, but which is expected to range up the small taxpayer with the large, in a common resistance to socialist "confiscation". Banking has done its best to distribute ownership and educate large classes of small men in the arts of saving and investment. The financial "little men" fly to more and more desperate speculation as the tax-collector pursues them, prices rise to devour their dividends and earnings altogether, and finally the poor "little men" collapse into bankruptcy and become chargeable on the taxpayers above their level, so dragging another grade towards submergence.

Then belatedly they think, and it is for us revolutionaries to assist their thinking to the utmost of our power.

That war-mongering ironmongering is only one aspect of the complex conflict between the methods of exploitation and private ownership that have developed during the past three and a half centuries on the one hand and the common interests of mankind on the other. It is coming now to its inevitable climax. Everywhere throughout the whole body of the dying order, its drifting dissension, its moral insufficiency, compared even with the crude first practical socialist economy of the Soviets, becomes more and more plainly manifest to the normal intelligence. The British-American collapse, or rather the European collapse, in the Far East, is an amazing spectacle of planless confusion created by uncontrolled ownership in the economic life. The sources of substances of vital importance in war and peace alike have been sought out, grabbed and exploited.

In a footnote to Chapter II (p. 14), I have already quoted one instance of the blind stupidity of Big Business. But the incoherence of these systems of exploiters, their inability to co-operate even with their own kind, is an amazing spectacle. Only one thing have they in common, a limitless fear and hatred of Bolshevism. Little do they realise that the West is

producing all the factors for an ultra-Bolshevism of its own. To fight against Bolshevism no instrument is too mean or monstrous. All over the Eastern hemisphere before the Japanese crash these business men had been spreading their exploitation and investment network; tin, rubber, oil, fats, gold, rare metals, wool, cotton, timber; they had ransacked that world. They worked like locusts, restraining their devastations only by agreements to keep up prices against the consumer. They had never given more than a passing thought to the security of their vast properties and plantations. They had never clubbed even for some sort of watch committee to protect their manifest common interests.

They were as stupid as the City of London, which was devastated by Jerry largely because it had not troubled to organise its fire watching and fire fighting until it was effectively bombed and burnt out. They trusted to the British Fleet and the still lingering legend of "our Empire", which was disarticulated in 1931, to guard it all for them, oblivious of the fact that the great iron and steel industrialists had concentrated their vast influence on an inadequately protected battle fleet. The British taxpayer would pay. And even when the blow of the Japanese attack fell, they still clung to the preservation of their properties. That is where their moral inferiority to the new Russia became apparent.

The scorched earth strategy is the defensive strategy of an inferior military power taken at a disadvantage. It was forced upon Russia because of her general backwardness, her profound and justifiable distrust of the so-called "democracies" and certain fluctuations in the foreign policy of Mr Stalin with which we must deal later. But that the British and Americans should be forced to attempt a belated imitation of the same thing and either burn up or yield to the enemy supplies of war material that an intelligently conceived world policy would have used for the prompt suppression of the Japanese military adventure, witnesses to an almost fantastic absence of understanding and an extreme incoherence of purpose in these communities. There is no possible cure for this incoherence except the substitution of a unifying ideology based upon the

plain necessities of the human situation. In other words there is no way of escape but this threefold World Revolution of all clear-sighted men, which we are stating in this book with the utmost definiteness and fullness possible.

But since they are still in the grasp of their present muddle-headed governments, with no unity either of purpose or strategic direction, this dismal heroic policy has been forced upon these peoples. And their incapacity for it has been lamentable.

The "scandals" of Penang and Ipoh, when considerable supplies of war material were left in the hands of the Japanese because of the disinclination of those who were in charge to destroy the Company's property, contrast vividly with the effectiveness of the scorched earth policy in Russia. On the one hand is a world of private ownership in which if you destroy property in the public interest you do a doubtful service to your private employer and risk the prospects of re-engagement, or if it is your own concern you may find yourself at a grave disadvantage against the competitor whose property has escaped, and on the other hand in the socialist society the individuals who are in charge of the material which it is expedient to destroy know of no owner but the common-weal. They will lose nothing as individuals. They will be in just as favourable a position as anyone else when the crisis is past.

In London (1941) I have heard men directing great productive interests discussing their relationship to the state and their determination to resist and get what they called a "fair deal" if the government, in order to increase national production, sets up its own factories side by side with theirs. "We have built up our organisations," they said, "and now we are expected to hand over our experience and secret processes, and then, when the Peace comes, we shall either have to buy up all this new plant ourselves simply to scrap it, or it will be sold to new competitors at knock-out prices." They did not explain that was precisely how they had acquired their own concerns in what we called the Period of Reconstruction but which was really the Period of the Restoration of Private

Monopolies after the Treaty of Versailles. This time in Britain in 1941 there has been much talk about the "conscription of wealth". The real implications of that phrase had never entered the heads of these magnates. To them that meant a transitional charge on income, Excess Profits Tax and the like, which could be dodged in a hundred ingenious ways. Their dread was not confiscation but new competition. Confiscation had yet to dawn upon their minds.

I suppose if one had argued with them upon the subject they would have replied by asking who would run their big businesses if they were dispossessed.

The answer of the practical revolutionary is that we hope to see a considerable number of the present managers, research men, designers, organisers and foremen working with the consent of the general body of operatives and the approval of the consumer, without any interception of profits in the counting-house. The material forms of the organisation need not change very much. The change will be one of spirit and status. Many of the upper men in these concerns may have acquired a private financial interest that leads to a feeling of solidarity with the bosses, but as the taxation and gathering sense of insecurity and unpopularity this present clumsy warfare is creating accumulates, they may begin to realise the superior charms of a civil service status.

We must not judge the operative civil servant of the new order of things, open to public criticism and publicly responsible, by the old-fashioned civil servant whose chief business in life was following precedent and not getting into trouble. In a socialist regime the operative director will be a public character and encounter much of the approval and disapproval that is now intercepted by the elected representative. The civil service in the past was filled by examination candidates who wanted a quiet place in life, by men and women who were naturally of an inert or even inhibitory temperament. The types attracted by the new order of things and most ready to become actual revolutionaries will be of the aggressive, sanguine, labile or lively sort, which is bored by ineffective routine and finds its chief satisfaction in "getting a move on",

in trying out promising ideas and being able to say "I did that."

Relieved in an equalitarian society of the allurements of social ambition, the way to unqualified service lies open to such men and women, and the resistance to the effective working of productive machinery in the common interest is much more likely to come from the dull, who find themselves in undistinguished positions, who lack imaginative participation, and are mortified and jealous of their livelier neighbours. They may easily become the tools of the blackmailing base who will make trouble in order to be bought off. But since in a socialist state dominated by the Sankey Declaration of the Rights of Man, everyone will have a subsistence allowance, the operative organisation of any concern will have full rights of dismissal for its recalcitrant members. The anti-social trouble-maker can be dealt with by special laws, and the dull individual will drift into boredom and extinction, or, after an uneventful holiday, be reconciled to some more congenial employment than the one he left.

None of these things, except this elimination of ownership in economic life and the disappearance of the Stock Exchange and of the vast incoherent complex of speculative gambling that will follow that elimination, means any fundamental alteration in the shapes of human society. Matters have been going in that direction for some decades, but not fast enough nor with a reasonable balance between the changes. The aim of World Revolution is not so much to turn things upside down as to accelerate and confirm processes already in confused operation. Our present social system, it is true, does drop men out of employment with a spasmodic injustice, due to trade cycles and financial processes for which they cannot be held responsible, but also it provides ineffective Labour Exchanges and it will not permit the out-of-works to starve or wander homeless. It does not acknowledge it is wrong, but it appeases. With a bad grace. It provides its humiliating casual ward or its dole.

Such things have developed and still develop under the shadow of ideas imposed upon the world by the dying master-

servant tradition. Men and women are still treated as being out of work by their own fault, and the plain obligation of society to its citizens is presented to them as being the condescending charity of their "Betterers".

The stratifications of our decaying social system are endless; the craving to be a "bit better" and look down upon others is natural to all human beings and easily fostered. It has been amazingly fostered in Britain. Vast masses of the British are still too snobbish to be socialists. When special allowances of fruit juice specially rich in Vitamin D, jam and nourishing material generally were provided for a badly raided district in East London, a number of mothers, regardless of the welfare of their children, refused to queue up to get this stuff, because they regarded it as lowering themselves socially to do so. "Never yet," said they, "have we accepted charity"—so soundly had they been indoctrinated with the idea that these provisions, which they should have demanded as a right, were degrading "charitable" gifts.

We have to convert this sort of pride in poverty-stricken independence into pride in being joint owner and joint worker in a classless community. That has been done in Russia in the brief interval since 1917. In that year Russia was a shattered, devastated and half-conquered mediævalism. She had eighty per cent illiterates, and the evil shadow of the serf mentality still lay upon the older generation. Consider the Russia of to-day. If that transformation can be worked in Russia, by the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and distribution, and the abolition of fragmentary competitive private ownership, it can be done as speedily or more speedily in any country of the world. The Pacific disaster of the private enterprise system in human affairs, has made the urgency of a world-wide expropriation glaringly apparent from end to end of the planet.

The difference in the morale of a socialist and a private enterprise system became very apparent in the winter of 1941-42. Then the Russian counter-attack on the Nazis had made Stalin the hero of the British workers. There was a "Russian week" when all the output went to the Soviet

armies. The Minister of Agriculture found an amazing increase in production simply because the men and women were no longer working for private employers. It was like taking off a brake.

There was a deputation of Russian workers to Britain; they were considerably misinformed about the British mentality; they seem to have been warned to make no Communist propaganda, and they expressed their amazement at the reluctance of the British worker to work all out for victory. There was a bitter struggle going on in the Kentish coal pits; for three weeks the men had been on strike. "Nothing of this sort occurs in Russia", said our visitors. But then they either did not note or did not want to notice that while the Russian miners were working for the common good and their own future, the British miners were working for Dorman Long and Co., who were all too plainly disposed to take advantage of their patriotism. The British miners could be laid off at any time; the Russians said: "This mine, like all the rest of Russia, is *ours*."

Russia started towards collective ownership under an enormous handicap, and the regime there and its present relations to World Revolution are open to very searching criticism. That criticism we must outline later in a review of the international situation in 1942. But for a number of chapters it will be better to go on with the broader aspects of the equalitarian World Socialist State.

VII

NO REVOLUTION IS SECURE WITHOUT RE-EDUCATION

ONCE more we must return to things already said in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and implied in a number of other parts of this book, and expand them as far as possible beyond reach of misunderstanding.

The Declaration insists upon the duty of the community to "render all knowledge available to him . . . easy and prompt access to all information necessary for him to form a judgment upon current events and issues."

Now this implies a proper training from the outset in the fundamental knowledge and ideas of the new social order contemplated by the Declaration. Every adult man is to have the right to profess and practise any religion not criminally anti-social, however absurd it may be. That is a plain human right, but that does not give any religious bodies that may still be carrying on after the Revolution, the right to deprive children and young people of the common body of human knowledge and the broad facts of their place in space and time. We can no more tolerate such artificially imposed ignorance than we can tolerate children being emasculated or having their eyes put out in the name of some sadistic mumbo-jumbo.

A large part of the Western world is darkened mentally and enfeebled morally by the specific teaching of the myth of a special creation, of a primordial sin against a Taboo, of the complicated vengeance of a vindictive and incomprehensible Deity and of a scheme of qualified redemption. There can be no objection whatever to adults, for whatever motive, trying to put this awful nonsense over to other adults if they can. The New World will be a world of complete religious toleration. There will be nothing to prevent people from erecting idols and temples on lawfully acquired private property at their own expense, provided they do not create eyesores or obstructions; nor is there any rational objection to their practising all the spiritual exercises of Mr. Gerald Heard's "Tantric Yogins" (see p. 49) in a decent seclusion. But to catch little children and pump this crazy rubbish into their unprotected minds as fundamental verity is an altogether different matter. To admit the "rights of the parent" to sacrifice their children to priestcraft or sell them to the Yoshiwara is intolerable. Until he or she has become an adult, every citizen in the world, parent or no parent, must be taught the plain, clear realities of life. After that—freedom.

That is what the Sankey Declaration of Rights is saying—but it is said here now as harshly and unambiguously as possible, to prevent any misunderstanding. The Declaration was the product of a considerable concourse of minds, and if it is read rather muzzily it may seem to afford loopholes for the old religious systems to capture further generations of children for their sectarian beliefs. But if you will read the document with an alert mind and altogether, you will find that every bolthole in which aggressive bigotry may reassemble its forces has been very carefully stopped.

The new Revolution, like the attempted Revolution of the Nazarenes, the great French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, is plainly anti-clerical. Why should there be any ambiguity about that? Between Nazism, Fascism and reactionary clericalism in the European and American worlds, there is a considerable mass of nice soft-minded friends who will warn us that we shall lose the support and sympathy of religious-minded people throughout the world if this hard antagonism to priestcraft is sustained. But the Revolution is in itself a religion, and it is quite prepared to retort to Jehovah's intolerance, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me."

And will these comfortable propitiatory people who are so solicitous that our movement should not lose the support of the pulpits, think less for us and more for themselves? Why all this politeness to the unbelievable? In some island of established peace and quiet there may be some excuse for barring, as the Victorian "Mutual Improvement" Societies did, all religious and political discussion. But where is that island now?

The hard logic of the inevitably disagreeable events that still lie ahead of mankind is likely to whittle away these people more and more. Some will come over to our implacable movement. Others will remain in the field of fire, disagreeing to the right and left of them. It is far better to repel this indeterminate sort of people from too close an association with the movement, by this much explicitness at the outset, than to have to weed them out later. The New Revo-

lution may be merciful and generous to old people, to fine old buildings and to everything that is pitiful, picturesque and gentle from the past, but it cannot afford to relax its firm insistence upon a hard firm realism as the substance of its world education.

Every revolution, if it is to survive, must make its propaganda develop into the educational organisation of the new order of affairs. The relapse of Germany into barbaric warfare was largely due to the failure to realise this. During the D'Abernon-Stresemann interlude, annual lectures from some more or less representative foreigners were delivered in the Reichstag under the auspices of Madame Antonina Luchaire, the biographer of Heine, and on one of these occasions I gave a discourse entitled "The Common Sense of World Peace". Among the audience was Einstein; he talked about it afterwards, and he was very much struck by the idea. He seemed to realise for the first time that while a great deal of "good feeling" was being manifested between the British and the Germans, the old Hohenzollern teachers in school and college were still hammering away at the idea that Germany had not been defeated, that she had been betrayed by propaganda, by Jews, by socialists, by the flight of the Emperor, and so forth and so on, and that sooner or later under better leadership she must fight again to recover all that she had lost. That, says everybody now, must never occur again. To which it is necessary to add "in any form". For malignant German nationalism is only one of the many corrosive doctrines against which the peoples of the world need protection. We shall not end war merely by putting an end to Germany.

World reconstruction involves nothing less than the re-education of the whole world. To a vast majority of people, this will seem to be an impossibly colossal undertaking, but the project of World Revolution is in itself colossal, and the only alternative before mankind is a steadily accelerated degrading. Throughout the earth the harsh realistic teaching of suffering and immediate danger is preparing a new world mentality, scattered indeed but not incoherent. Everywhere now there are not only organising propagandists but

enlightened school and university teachers, and an increasing distribution of books and pamphlets starting from the most devious sources but converging everywhere upon the same consciousness of a universal Revolution ahead of us. A modern World Revolutionary movement arising out of a hard common-sense treatment of human affairs will be dependent upon no inspired and inspiring leaders nor amenable to any premature "Party line" strategy. It will not radiate from a centre. It will be a confluent movement. The harder-minded and clearer it is, the more nearly identical will its independent outbreaks in different parts of the world become. Even the separatist "aggressive" states will be driven under competitive necessity to sustain a minimum efficiency of education, and whenever a teacher faces a class he has the opportunity of giving his teaching a liberal twist. He may even do so inadvertently.

Great economies of energy are now possible in teaching, enormous new facilities for spreading knowledge and ideas. Communities are only beginning to employ the radio, the cinema, the gramophone for propaganda and instruction. A brilliant demonstration by a skilful teacher, an exciting piece of new knowledge, can be put before millions of learners more easily than it could be given to a small roomful of students forty years ago. The outstanding teacher can be spread all over the earth, he can be translated, and his experiment can be displayed again and again. He is not diluted by that, he is intensified. In that small classroom half of the students got in each other's way, were distracted, missed the point and lost it. But by the new methods history can be reconstructed; geography made as good as travel; statistics brought to life. The sort of people who can utilise all these new resources most effectively and attractively are just the types who are full of creative liberal ideas.

Against them will be pitted the priest and the social reactionary. They will protest; they will demand omissions and alterations. The liberal teacher expresses his regret. "I do not do it right?" he will say. "Show me how." The Censor does not find that so easy.

Twenty-odd years ago an *Outline of History* was published to which the Roman Catholics objected strongly. They published "Companions" to it and ecclesiastics rose to eminence by denouncing its imaginary "errors". But they have never produced an *Outline* of their own. They do not even dare strain the minds of the Faithful with any history of the adventures of the Church in the Middle Ages that would not provoke the derision of educated men. They never will. In countries where there is a recalcitrant government, the spread of modern ideas may be impeded, but it cannot be dammed back, and where the Revolution has the upper hand there will be no question of the complete modern education of every child.

It is from among the teachers of to-day that a considerable number of those who will form the central co-ordinating nexus of the new world may be drawn.

All this section again is merely a dotting of the i's and a crossing of the t's of what is said in the Declaration of Rights. It is necessary to make these fundamental stipulations inescapably plain.

This is as far as we can go with the question of education here, unless we are to launch out upon an essay on educational science. The natural phases of infancy, childhood, the bodily-mental metamorphosis of adolescence and the continuation of learning throughout life determine the stages in the educational ladder, but they may vary widely with race and climate, and the only thing to insist upon definitely is that, in order to secure equalitarian solidarity, the adolescent phase, which in the temperate zone would be from about twelve or thirteen to fifteen or sixteen, should be passed in a common school, where the only classification should be one of natural aptitude as the schoolboys approach the age of specialisation.

VIII

MONEY AND ECONOMIC LIFE

THIS book is an attempt to set out as plainly as possible the overt or latent significance of the threefold world unification that has been summarised in its second chapter. But there is a large number of very intelligent and active-minded people who see the processes of life largely in terms of currency, and they will find such allusions to "pay", to "unpaid" public service in order to secure citizenship, and "legitimate profit", as are given in the Sankey Declaration of the Rights of Man, very unsatisfying and remote from their habitual approach to social problems. They will object that the broad sentiments of the Declaration are admirable as far as they go, but that a great gulf remains before they can imagine those sentiments translated into concrete everyday reality. There is a considerable justification for this criticism, and it has to be met.

The Declaration makes it clear that a certain minimum of food, clothing, shelter, medical care and so forth, is to be given to everyone as his right. Our Western communities already do that, but disapprovingly and humiliatingly. The Soviet Constitution, quoting the Bible unexpectedly, says sternly that "He who will not work neither shall he eat", but it also concedes a "Right to Rest", and the preamble of the Sankey Declaration is that since no one asks to get born those who are born must be considered as involuntary heirs to all the accumulations of mankind. Conceivably this minimum of support can be supplied without payment, and money need not enter into the transaction. This is our present way with the out-of-work, the penniless and the casual, and this—on a plane of artistic civility—is how things are done in William Morris's *News from Nowhere*. But both the Declaration and the Soviet Constitution insist that there is also a Right to Work, and about that they are in complete agreement. Any-

one may demand paid employment by the State. The Declaration says you may work for anyone who wants you to perform or paint pictures or decorate his private house or publish a newspaper and so on, but you must not use this money you earn through State employment either at first or second hand, for speculation, which is quite clearly defined in Article 6. But there the information supplied by the Declaration stops.

Some of the information it does not give, it does not give because it is a Declaration of Rights and not an encyclopædia. It does not point out that there is not one thing called Money but many Monies, which vary in their nature and social effect with what can be bought or sold. In the past there have been monies that could buy human beings outright to do what one liked with, monies that could buy the ground under a man's feet or the food out of his mouth. These powerful types of money the World Revolution proposes to banish from the earth. But there will remain this money which is to induce our world citizens, after their year or so of unpaid conscript service is over, to work with hope and energy for the common good. It will come from the State and it will return to the State directly or indirectly in payment for commodities and services supplied by the State. And this is the point where the monetary expert makes himself difficult by the simple question "How?"

The State, the World State, is an abstraction almost like an omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent deity. All the world prays to Jehovah at one and the same moment, and he is supposed to give meticulous personal attention to every applicant. Is the State going to do that, to direct everybody's job and *fix the rate of remuneration* (which takes all the fun out of that "Right to Work"), while at the same time standing at the shop-counter of the Universal World Stores, Theatre Agency and Travel Bureau and raking it all in again? . . .

It is evident that we have to look a little more closely into the nature of money before we can get to grips with that "How?"

Of course over against these currency specialists there are

those idealists who regard Money as "the root of all evil". The Soviet Government in its early experimental days did try to do without it altogether. The comrade or visitor was given a card with little tear-off coupons for food, lodging, travel and so forth and so on. Money had been inflated down to absolute worthlessness when the writer was there in 1920. He paid for nothing; he had a few million roubles with which he bought an apple and some flowers, and he subsisted partly on hard-boiled eggs that he had brought with him and partly by the use of a special invalid's food-card. The scheme failed rapidly because when the comrades queued up to get their allotment of whatever it was, it wasn't there.

But even if supplies had been available, these coupons would have been very unsatisfactory because if what you really wanted was opera it was no good to have coupons for travel which you didn't in the least desire. You would have had to wander about to find a would-be tourist and swap coupons with him. Money saves you all that trouble. The merit of money in action is that it gives freedom of choice in the form in which you will take your reward. It generalises your earnings and leaves you free to specify what you will take in return for what you have given the community.

That moneyless phase passed long ago and the Russians have experimented elaborately in currency devices. We have much to learn from their experiences, provided we keep in mind the profound differences in the initial conditions between the coming Socialist World Revolution based on the collapse of Western competitive ownership and the very different débâcle of Russia in 1917. Let us return to the problem that faces the American or Western European now, and take up the question of where will the ordinary citizen get his pay and where will he normally spend it. We have already given reasons for supposing that the great business systems in the country which were developing into big international combines will become the economic organs of the new order of things. The worker will go to his industry, which will be run by its "operatives", a synthesis of salaried managers and hands, and draw his wages, and he will spend most of it in the con-

solidated chain stores, universal stores and so forth, of which we have the precursors to-day. These economic organisations can be and will be "taken over", as the phrase goes, by the Revolution. They will simply be relieved of the incubus of the rentier and from financial exploitation. That much we may count upon. But it does not complete the picture. The currency specialist will still remain dissatisfied, and it is necessary to go on to anticipate some further difficulties he is bound to raise.

But first it is well to recognise certain realities that are often overlooked in our speculations about a reconstituted world, and one of the most striking of these is the uniformity of material processes under the most diverse variations of political structure. Attention was called to this at the meeting of the British Association in September, 1941. There was a discussion of the effect of damming rivers to create great power stations, and more particularly of the social consequences, the new towns, industries and so forth and even of the changes in agricultural method that ensued. Rivers that had hitherto been political boundaries became the backbones of new vigorous communities. It became conspicuous that under the paternalist imperialism of Lord Hailey, under Soviet rule and in the highly individualist atmosphere of the U.S.A., great damming enterprises were producing much the same way of life.

This is only one instance of the revolutionary power of material necessity. Attention has been drawn already (Chapter II, p. 14) to the existence at the present time of huge international syndicates transcending any national boundaries and often quite indifferent to the policies and security of the States through which they operate. We have cited the iron and steel international, the rubber international, the tin international and the like. According to the socialist theories we accept, these great trusts will become public instruments. That will not suffuse them with angelic disinterestedness.

The critic will put certain possible difficulties. The tin industry, let us suppose, wants shorter hours and higher pay for its rank and file. The world food organisation objects

that this will hamper the supply of cans for food distribution. The rubber industry complains that shorter hours and better pay for the tin syndicate will draw away labour from the plantations. The man in the street intervenes to say that he finds the rubber tyres he gets dearer and not so good as they used to be, and he becomes a reluctant buyer. Troubles of this sort affect the great-scale price-controlling industries of to-day; they are adjusted by price fluctuations and complicated fragmentary and national administrative interference, tariffs and the like; but there is nothing in the general propositions of world socialism made thus far, to define satisfactorily how either the conflicting interests of the consumer in general and the various producing organisations and also the internecine conflict of these vast bodies, can be adjusted.

Nothing we have in the Sankey Declaration of Rights or in the general schemes of socialism gives any guarantee against some one powerful producer system absorbing so great a body of operatives as to make them a sort of ruling oligarchy, taking as much from the community and doing as little as the rest of mankind will stand. No one is compelled to work in the world we are projecting, and it may be that such a predominance might be met by strikes on the part of less powerful organisations. No man is obliged to work and no man is compelled to starve in our Western socialism. They can walk out or lock out. And a socialised banking system in close touch with the central administration may obviously be used to adjust the apportionment of money between one functional organisation and another. That seems to be the Soviet way. It is open to our critic, however, to declare that though this may set a limit to the oppression of one great industry by another, it does not protect the Consumer interest. In view of what has been said in Chapter II (p. 18) about the potential social destructiveness of the unemployed young man, the possible slackening of productive and constructive energy would involve a threat of renewed disorder that might develop into a final relapse and disaster for the whole race.

The answer given to that criticism is that "*they*", the authorities, some person or persons in power, can prevent that,

by legislative enactment to increase the obligation to labour, or by controlling the allotment of funds to the great industrial corporations through the banks. But we still have to be clear about "they". "They" are supposed to be acting in the interests of the Consumer side of life as distinguished from the Producer side. Who are "They"? In Russia in peace time it was theoretically the presiding council of the Soviets. In practice so far it has been an emergency committee of Ministers under a practically autocratic head. In the West and the world generally, the ordinary Socialist gives you no answer at all. In the past he has always been far too vague about nationalisation and socialisation. He has refused to recognise that you cannot expropriate until you have a Competent Receiver. That Competent Receiver has gradually become imaginable and concrete, it is more and more practicable for the industries to expropriate themselves, but the solution still vanishes into shadow on the political side.

Matters and methods have moved very rapidly even since the Sankey Declaration of Rights and the Soviet Constitution (1936) were published. Both these documents are pervaded by the assumption that government must be exercised by representatives "*elected by all the citizens*" on a particular election day.

But why should representatives be elected?

Representative government was unknown in the ancient world. It is comparatively new in human history. An old world democratic government, even that of Rome, was the whole collection of *citizens*. A citizen of Rome in York or Antioch was free to go to Rome and vote if he wanted to do so. The foundation of modern representative government was laid in England when the local taxpayers were invited to send two men to Westminster to answer for their taxes. They brought not only their contribution to the Government but their grievances, as Consumers, against the administration. It is a matter of only the past hundred years or so since parliamentary institutions have spread out from the English-speaking communities extensively about the world. They

were supposed to explain the successfulness of the "Anglo-Saxons" during their phase of dominance in the nineteenth century. It was never more than a supposition. There was no sound reason for their insertion in the Soviet Constitution. It may be well to put before the reader in the following chapter a number of considerations that are too often overlooked in a general discussion of the socialist state. It may be necessary to raise a number of unsettled issues which will need to be settled very definitely by the initiatory groups of the World Revolution if the new world is to become a working reality.

At present the Russian Constitution offers a dreadful prospect of a General Election through the whole Union on one particular day, on which every adult above the age of eighteen is expected to vote between 6.30 a.m. and midnight. This election has not yet occurred and there may be reason for hoping it never will occur. Devastating as the prospect of that Russian General Election is, it pales to nothing against the idea of World Election Day. There are far more effective means of stating and implementing Consumer judgments, and it is the duty of the world socialist to assemble and define them. Because though Work produces all that makes life worth living, Consumption *is* life itself.

IX

THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSUMER

THE World Declaration of the Rights of Man, as its preamble makes clear, is directly designed for the protection of the Consumer, the living man in us, that is to say, against the machinery, organisation and possible tyrannies and deteriorations of production. Every one of us in a socialist community has these two aspects; he is a Consumer, and that is his *essential* life, and he is a worker, a cog

in a productive and creative machine, and that is his *necessary* life. The essential life in the scheme of the World Revolution is protected from the life of necessity, by a universal fundamental law. So far everything is clear. But where vagueness begins is in Article Eleven of the Declaration, and in the Soviet Constitution it degenerates into downright impracticability. Both are haunted by recent and local conditions, and neither go down to the bare elements of the present world problem.

Politically we still think far less boldly than we do economically.

The present World Revolution is much more than a revolt against the phantom "Capitalist System" of the Marxist doctrine. That "Capitalist System" idea has given revolutionists a false perspective that has imposed many limitations upon them. To-day our historical knowledge is vastly greater, and, if my friend J. B. S. Haldane will forgive my saying so, we know a lot that Marx did not know. The World Revolution is a struggle to get rid altogether of the master-man idea of human society. The origins of that idea lie back beyond the beginnings of written history in the dawn of the agricultural "civilisation". These civilisations facilitated an enormous increase of the human population, but at the same time they tied men down to the soil and exposed the first "Masses" of toilers hopelessly to the dominance of predatory invaders. That seemed to most human beings an inevitable state of affairs for more than a hundred centuries.

That period constituted what Winwood Reade called the Martyrdom of Man, and it is only now, after a hundred centuries or more of that martyrdom, that the rapid advance of technological science has abruptly abolished any excuse for class rule whatever. There were protests and feeble revolts, no doubt, from the beginning, and great and temporarily successful teachings of mercy and tolerance, coupled with an insistence upon the beauty of poverty, abstinence and service, from the days of Buddha onward, but never before this age have they had any flavour of practical necessity for a fundamental revolution. Now abruptly in the past

third of a century it has broken in upon us that the master-man order of society has collapsed.

The practical liberation of the world-mind began not with any of these great aspirations. They were like the sighs of a giant who dreams in his sleep. It began with the invention of paper and of printing from movable type. That was a real awakening. It has gone on towards a practically complete supersession of human toil as the chief source of power. Invention and discovery are the true liberators. The master and man order of society has not been "overthrown" as the Soviet Constitution puts it; it is collapsing, and we are living in the collapse. The Revolutionist of to-day has not fought a great battle and won it; it was not a battle and it is by no means certainly won; he is simply emerging from the ruins. And still he clings to some very serious misconceptions that belong to his liberal past.

What a great number of Revolutionists still do not realise is that all this parliamentary and electoral stuff, which still plays so large a part in liberal thought, arose out of quite recent master and man conditions. It began in a world of Kings and noblemen and yeomen and churls, when Kings were compelled to sign Great Charters and succumb to Petitions of Right. Every advance towards freedom has taken the form of right royal concessions to sturdy inferiors, and even when Kings were beheaded, that was done on the ground that they had not kept to their part of a bargain in which their superiority was never disputed. They were still sacred and sacrificial persons. The axe honoured them. The new world has domesticated them and put them on a level with movie stars and other publicity hunters whom no one would ever dream of beheading. They propitiate when they used to condescend. But the tradition of sturdy defiance still hangs about our legislative procedure.

The whole method and apparatus of parliamentary government was framed to defend man from the aggressions of a kingship or Tsardom that has now evaporated. It is more obsolete than anything else in this transitional phase of collapse in which we find ourselves. The World Revolution is

compelled to consider the boldest alternatives to that creaking simulacrum of popular control and consent.

That parliamentary government has been a disaster and a hindrance rather than a help in the great blaze of Anglo-Saxon material good luck during the nineteenth century becomes apparent when we run over in our minds the rôle of Party organisations on both sides of the Atlantic. There were very wide differences in the conditions, but the realities were roughly parallel. The elected persons were entrusted with the decisive power in the community. They were to appoint judges, amend laws, make new ones. The temptation to become an elected person, more particularly if one was already by way of being a corporation lawyer and dealing with the rivalries and aggressions of these ever-expanding networks, was therefore very strong, strong enough to evoke an immense and penetrating organisation of the community into disciplined parties. It was most satisfactory to run this widespread political life on Spenslow and Jorkins, Liberal and Conservative, Republican and Democratic lines, and by careful local organisation the scattered protests of dissatisfied consumers were made practically inaudible. You had to vote for one Party or the other, and, except for the excitement of faction or the shabby little personal rewards of the spoils system, you got nothing for it. Both the great English-speaking democracies are still politician-ridden, lawyer-ridden systems, employing a vast burthen of non-productive people; every newspaper is coloured by political bias; Big Business keeps close contact with the politician. And so on.

What is there in the socialist project we are scrutinising that will prevent this cancerous system of political control passing over to the New Order? The Soviet Constitution seems to be blind to that possibility, but in these matters Russians are a very inexperienced people. Most of the world is very inexperienced, and Congress in India is a poor imitative importation from Europe, alien to the soil. The World Declaration of Rights betrays a certain uneasiness in what is evidently a very amended and re-amended article (Article Eleven), but it can still be read as if it enforces this strange

idea that we must ultimately submit ourselves to persons elected by the vote of the entire community.

It hedges a little by stipulating that the consent of the governed shall be either "active or tacit", and by indicating "electoral methods which give effective expression to individual choice". That seems to be a glance at Proportional Representation. But, unless we stretch that "tacit" almost to the breaking point, we get no absolute protection from that nightmare of a World General Election, in which the professional electioneers will guide the confused multitudes into the polling booths, where they will set their marks against one or other of the politicians, who will then legislate for and between the socialised banks, the great corporations, the syndicated shops, the vaguely resentful common man and everything else that matters in life.

Mr Wilson Midgley, obsessed by the possibilities of mischief in General Election stampedes, suggested some time ago that a quarter or a third of the Members of Parliament should retire in the order of their seniority every year. That would refresh public interest in politics annually and avert violent reversals of policy, but at best it would be a mitigation of the party system.

Obviously the New World Order cannot carry on with these old-fashioned expedients. And already in our world to-day we have the plain intimations of methods that will consign the rule of the elected persons to the dustbins of history.

As big business systems grow, even under the incubus of private ownership, the methods of working approximate more and more clearly to the forms, the ministries and administrations of a world-wide socialist order. The ordinary big department store chain, for instance, has to solve problems almost identical with those of the distributive ministry of a socialist state. It finds its book department failing to attract a crowd; it is unsure about a particular line of goods upon which it thinks of embarking; it wants to know why people do not seem eager to consume the refreshments it provides and whether there is anything missing about the establishment that would make the customers happier. A politician would, I

suppose, lock all the doors and ask the customers to elect a general manager, either the old one or a new one. No business man would do anything of the sort. He would get answers to his questions from samples of his Consumers. He would call in the art of various experts who would make a number of unobtrusive enquiries and return with what Mr Tom Harrisson calls a Mass Observation report, or he would make a "Gallup Poll" of the people who came into his shop and the people who might do so and didn't, upon these important questions. Harrisson has recently been at work upon morale in wartime and the reception of various types of propaganda, and the Gallup Polls have anticipated election results in America with remarkable accuracy. There we have something germinating which may contribute the solution of these last constructive problems of the World Reconstruction. Determination by sample may be already providing the means of escape from the epilepsy of a general election. It may be no more necessary to leave ultimate decisions to an assembly of persons elected by a world vote than it is to dry up the whole ocean to find how much salt there is in it. The oceanographer takes his samples discreetly here and there, and his result is not only less costly to the life on the planet but much more accurate.

These various ways of testing the mental reactions of the common consumer are experiments at the level of early experiments in electricity. But they cannot be too vigorously worked upon, because only through them have we a reasonable hope of escaping from the stranglehold of party politics. World Socialism cannot be achieved without them.

The sample method of dealing with human affairs is also exemplified by various uses to which we can put a Jury. This is not the place to trace the obscure beginnings of the jury idea, any more than it is the place to discuss the origins of money; our concern is with how it works and may work. The primitive jury may have been something in the nature of local hostages, who either went bail for an accused man or dealt with him and disposed of the case. In the method of empanelling a body of trustworthy men who make themselves

responsible for a discussion upon a question of fact, where authority in the person of the judge might be less willing to spare an offending common man, or where, as in the case of the now vanished English Grand Jury, there might be a suspicion of governmental persecution, we have a very clear intimation of what can be done with the jury idea. There must be a great body of human experience on record in selecting men for the military draft, and in the conduct of lotteries, which could be easily and rapidly co-ordinated. The selection of the World Jury from the several hundred millions entitled to vote demands only a reasonable amount of common sense and ingenuity. There are a thousand ridiculous ways of setting about it. If you took people by their names for example and decided by lot that you had to begin somewhere in the middle of the Macs or the U's, we should hand over the world to a tartan tyranny or a Burmese world. But the selection of a panel of ten thousand or twenty thousand or thirty thousand sample human beings from the four or five hundred millions enfranchised, could be done effectively by any actuarial expert.

I will not pretend to any special knowledge, but manifestly if you map your world into two and a half million areas of approximately equal population and select twenty thousand of these areas by lot, and if you then select a man by lot from each of these areas, or better, have a prompt election in that area of a few select men and then take one of those by lot, and if this is done quickly without any unnecessary publicity, you will be able to assemble a body of Consumers far more authoritative than any electoral body now in existence. It can be assembled very rapidly at some chosen centre and it can be more or less secluded from outside interference. It is difficult to see how any Party organisation or political adventurers can get at this gathering to befog it, intimidate it, bribe it or exploit it in any way. Especially as that sort of enterprise can be watched and restrained by law.

In all this the writer is trying to show what is practicable. He is making an irresponsible sketch in a few sentences. In the past he has made some reasonably successful deductions

from the stream of tendency, but though he is trying to make his forecast as concrete as possible, he is giving it with the reservation "something of this sort".

There is now no mechanical impossibility, with loud speakers and so forth, in as many as twenty thousand people or more coming to a conference together. Lecture audiences in America can run up to ten thousand now, with overflow meetings of another ten thousand. The language difficulty is not overwhelming. If there is an element of local choice and election, no area is likely to send up a man incapable of one or more of the key languages of mankind. He can hardly be an eligible educated man without that much accomplishment. The language difficulty was not insurmountable at Geneva.

The great Jury, the Consumer Sample, will begin, I suppose, in full session. The various producing, distributing and other corporations will present their cases for any readjustment, the Jury will question, discuss and decide. It will also consider any rational complaints and grievances that may be submitted to it by petition, grievances for which the ordinary law does not provide, and it will, if necessary, amend the law. It will make and discuss its own grievances. Freedom of association is guaranteed to every citizen by the fundamental law, and any associations can proceed by petition. The Grand Jury may do its work as a whole, or in sections, or in special groups associated with representatives of the Ministries and corporations. It may appoint committees to control particular matters that will function until the next Grand Jury takes them over.

It will during its period of office be as much of a world sovereign as a unified world will need. It will be the apex of the system and below it there will be a great variety of sectional Juries representing national, local and professional consumer needs. With that the Soviets are already experimenting. Their treatment of the numerous national cultures and minorities within their Union, for which Stalin was largely responsible, is already a brilliant success. The only fundamental quarrel we have here with the Soviet Constitution is the utter impracticability of its electoral scheme.

An impracticable electoral method which fails to work may easily become a mere ineffective ghost, a thin veil for a personal or group dictatorship. There may never be that Russian General Election. Given a leader of outstanding energy and rapid intuitions, this may not matter for a time, but in the long run it matters—it matters fatally.

Here there must be a gap. The realisation that the Sankey Declaration of Human Rights was too localised, personal and parliamentary a document obsessed the writer more and more intensely. He had been working very hard upon the possibility of its translation into other languages and upon its world-wide acceptance as the fundamental law, the overruling basis of world unity. It did, he realised, cover practically all the rights of man against oppression and so far was entirely practicable and exhaustive; it was a complete assertion of human freedom and dignity; it needed only a little excision and re-phrasing in Article Eleven. If the work were to be done over again under anything like similar circumstances it would emerge in a practically identical form. The Rights of Man under the new conditions of life are practically the same rights everywhere. But on the contrary the Introduction, as distinguished from the Articles, the writer was coming to realise, was a statement incomprehensible to anyone unused to "Parliamentary democracy".

Accordingly he set to work in collaboration with all the capable people he could enlist to revise the entire setting of the eleven articles and to produce a "Declaration of the Rights of Man" that could be easily explained by revolutionary propaganda to simple people in every part of the world—a Declaration stripped of all names and local attributions. For example, he took his problem to the directorate of the London School of Oriental and African Studies for their advice. They realised at once the new face he had put upon his project. Simultaneously he did his utmost by addresses and discussions to extend the propaganda of the Rights of Man. To do this he overtaxed his limited store of energy, screwing himself up to the job more and more, the more complex it became, and

disregarding every warning. The general urgency of the time increased the stress upon him. This has culminated in a breakdown. For a period anyhow he is in the hands of his doctors and incapable of getting on with a problem which he has come to realise is of supreme human importance.

The development of this idea of the Rights of Man as a fundamental world law has been a rapid and expanding one. It has been told and retold. It began as a revival of the War Aims controversy of 1917-18, and it was an attempt to anticipate and prevent the appropriation of public production by private enterprise that led to the social conflicts of the 'twenties. The Conservative Party, under the guidance of the 1922 Committee, manifestly believed then that it was in possession of a victorious "Empire", that it had secured the upper hand of the returning manhood of Britain, and so when these men came back for "homes fit for heroes" they found vast new financial fortunes growing up to exploit them, and instead of those homes, they got unemployment upon the dole.

The demand for explicit British War Aims in 1939 began as nothing more than a movement to anticipate and avert a repetition of this betrayal. As the war went on, the call from the accumulating refugee allies for some declaration of British War Aims became urgent, and it was evident to every intelligently revolutionary mind that so far the only unambiguous answer Britain could make to this was in the Sankey Declaration of Human Rights.

It was plain that 1922 British imperialism meant to cheat again if it had a dog's chance of doing so, and it was equally urgent to give the progressive radicalism that had come to join hands with the British war effort some assurance that this would not occur. The writer became more and more alive to the necessity for a fundamental world law arising out of the Sankey Declaration, and yet he realised that for some reason he was falling short of the steps necessary to bring that about. The human mind has its time limits; and it took him many weeks to realise the nature of the impediments that stood in his way. He arranged for the translation of the Declaration into Czech, Polish, French and Russian in view of the possi-

bility of its adoption as a common basic law, and yet he remained blind to the fact that no existing government or political party would ever be likely to accept it as an overruling law. The whole situation was lit up for him by an intelligent Indian politician who said, "Why trouble to translate the Declaration of Rights into Hindustani? Every politically-minded Indian will be able to read it in English." In a flash it became plain that the "politically-minded" were the last people to whom the writer wanted to appeal. His reason, following up the accumulating intuitions of that period of mental stress, suddenly grasped the essence of the problem before him.

He still finds it very difficult to get this statement written and so he must put what he has in mind as starkly as possible. "Here we are," he said, "writing and demonstrating the *immediate* necessity of revolutionary world unification, its threefold federation and its fundamental human rights, and yet we are still under a fantastic spell waiting for existing authorities, *whose separate existences and initiatives we propose to override*, to sanction or accept or seem to accept the declared Rights of Man as they have now been worked out. Our threefold Revolution and our Declaration of Rights is offered as the one and only solution to the present human problem. It is, we declare, immediate and imperative and there is no other way; its essence is an immediate unification, and yet we are waiting upon bodies whose very existence depends upon their separateness and their bargaining power."

Take his own case. He has spent most of a long mental life in asking, "What is happening to mankind?" And yet because of the way in which it has come into being, as he has made clear, in spite of his steady conviction of the *fundamental overriding significance* of the world revolution that confronts us, it has nevertheless presented itself to him as a *permissive* revolution, as a humble petition and "Will you please let us?" Why? Mental inertia. It is only with great difficulty that he has struggled away from this idea into which he was born. "May we?" he has been saying To which all

the large humbugging authorities left in the world reply in the kindest way. "The world has changed for ever, trust us. We realise that the world is in revolution more even than you do. Here we promise you . . ." And they do so in Atlantic Declarations and the like as full of holes for cheating as any statesman could desire.

It was only as the writer worked out the reasoned theory of world revolution embodied in this book, that he was finally able to disentangle his mind completely from the irrational streak of meekness by which he belied himself. It was only then that it grew clear to him that "*Here and now is the Revolution and the New World Order.*"

The Revolution happens now if we choose that it shall happen. If you do not realise it now, it may never happen. It is a purely arithmetical question of how many people realise it.

We have to tell the whole world *now* as abundantly and speedily as possible that *the revolution is definitely here*, that its threefold purpose, to disarm the whole world, assert the freedom and dignity of every individual human being and release the whole earth from private and political appropriation to the beneficial use of mankind, has been fully and clearly stated and made practicable and easy. There is nothing more to plead about. The Revolution has to set about its work by the techniques indicated by former experiences and by modern methods of diffusion.

It has to form study circles and nuclei wherever it can for the realisation of its essential idea that the Revolution is here. These nuclei must make the Rights of Man, arising out of the threefold imperatives of the human situation, the gist of their persistent propaganda teaching. These rights have now been stripped down to a declaration of the imperative demands a human being must make for himself and his fellows if there is ever to be unity, peace, freedom and abundance of living in the world. On these the Revolution insists. Every government, every would-be leader, every state, every organisation, must be judged entirely as it subserves the Revolution, because the Revolution now in operation underlies and overrides it.

All over the world this propaganda of realisation, this vast missionary task of the new world awakening, has to be carrying on in every possible language. A similar job was done all over the world by the Communist Party a third of a century ago, with infinitely inferior facilities. It has to be done over again with all our available powers to-day.

Personal names and leaders must be forgotten. *The Rights of Man stripped bare and clean* must be the substance of the Revolutionary propaganda, and the movement will not be properly afoot until it is being passionately taught by missionaries who feel no need of any leadership but Righteousness, who have never heard the name of Sankey or of any individual member of the original drafting committee. It must depend upon the Rights of Man and be absolutely free from any personal exhibits whatever.

It was at this point that the writer was overtaken by his physical collapse. He called in his doctor, whom he had been sedulously avoiding, was put through the irksome disciplines of a bronchitis patient, and debarred from any mental activity whatever. And he is still unable for some time to take up the job. He finds himself unable to advance from the confused fatigued incapacity of that phase of final reconstruction. He has the baffled feeling of a motorist whose clutch begins to slip at every hill. There is nothing for him to do now but to pass on his idea as clearly as he can and call upon others to take it up and organise its effective realisation.

He begs for help. He begs the help of men of organising ability, who have special facilities for spreading this idea throughout the world.

Essentially he sees the matter in these terms.

A. *The World Revolution is something that has happened in the past third of a century.* It could not have happened before. Then very rapidly it became imperative and inevitable. That is stated with the utmost clearness in the opening chapter of this book. See in particular page 20, *which he would ask you to re-read.* The Revolution is going on now and will either become the unified world of freedom and abundance or fall short in a human degrading, and it will

do this just according to the number of revolutionary workers it can enlist in time for its service. It is a matter of arithmetic. The more hours of propaganda the quicker the Revolution.

B. The World Revolution does not involve any attack upon any existing government, constitution, political organisation or the like, for the simple reason that all the conditions that make this world-wide undertaking imperative, have arisen within the last forty years out of conditions never foreseen when these governments, etc., came into being. *Its need is supplemental to the intercourse of these powers, governments, etc.* It supplies a common basis and criterion by which their interaction can go on and be judged. Its imperatives are as new as they are urgent. This would be obvious if it were not for the immense inertias of the human mind.

So let every man and woman who grasps this set about forming a propaganda nucleus now. The British Air Marshal can set his men discussing the Rights of Man. The Bengali or the Japanese peasant can do exactly the same thing. The Rights are the common link in the ending of our present disorders. Their realisation is a Gospel in itself. The old-world politicians will do their best to appropriate the idea, and as they do so, they will necessarily be put in a position in which the Rights of Man will become a simple and plain statement of the world reborn, and then a plainer and plainer demonstration of the blended stupidity and evil of the pre-revolutionary world. . . . It is an essential part of the idea that everywhere the eleven articles and the briefest possible statement of what they mean, should be translated, written in every possible script, photographed, and so made available for easy distribution from end to end of the earth.

The writer had hoped to draft a very simple introduction to the Rights in this final universal form. But he is too tired. The words will not arrange themselves.

He cannot go on with this because his fagged mind cannot yet resume clear work. It slips from one consideration to another and back again. So he begs those who have more energy and opportunity to get on with this job.

The elementary Revolution of the Rights of Man cannot be

used as the basis of any "propaganda" by the contending "powers", but it is possible to describe the new movement as objective fact. It has always been the weakness of the aggressor powers to answer back, and, as the depersonalised Revolution of the Rights of Man develops, their propaganda will be lured into a great incoherence of retort.

It is high time for the writer to vanish from the Revolution, anyhow. He has been very disagreeable to many people and there is a considerable amount of understandable personal prejudice against him. As the Revolution becomes anonymous, all that prejudice will cease to hamper it. So long as the writer lives, the elaboration of a legendary bad man story will be hampered by the laws of libel, but there is no reason why the Revolution should be injured later by the same sort of posthumous mud-volcano with which the Catholic Youth of France honoured Anatole France. So, for the present, under the pressure of dire necessity, the writer ceases his open work for the Revolution and vanishes, and if later his strength, or some of it, is restored to him, he will work fraternally as an anonymous propagandist upon such jobs as he is best fitted for. This is no farewell to life as a writer and so forth; all that may be resumed. You have not heard the last of *Homo Tewler*, *The Conquest of Time*, or this volume, which culminates at last in the writer's complete realisation of the duty of self-effacement in revolutionary work and in the release of the New Life in the World from the last lingering taint of personality.

END OF THE INTERPOLATION

Book Two:

PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF A WORLD
REVOLUTION

I

THE CONVERSION OF THE POLICE AND THE
RENAISSANCE OF LAW

IN the preceding nine chapters I have done my best to clear up a few indistinct phases in the general presentation of Federated World Socialism, and so make it easier for various types of hesitating intelligent men and women to come into effective co-operation in pulling our world out of our present chaos of disaster. It is necessary to bear in mind that Marxist Bolshevism in Russia, for all its courage and merits, is only the first attempt at a classless society, and that a Revolutionary movement developing in the politically more experienced and socially more complex Western world, amidst circumstances of social collapse, analogous to but far vaster than the collapse that gave Russia to Bolshevism, is likely to go further and be much more comprehensive and conclusive than its precursor. That has been stated as precisely and practicably as possible in Book One.

And now in this Book Two, since there is already a great confusion of disconnected projects for replanning Great Britain, rebuilding smashed cities, revising labour conditions, resuming education, restoring the armies of the world to civil life and so forth and so on, it is advisable that the attitude of the World Revolutionary to the more outstanding of these projects should be defined as clearly as possible. Some he

must support, some he must attempt to deflect, some he must oppose tooth and nail.

And since we have dismissed the idea of a clean slate from our outlook altogether, since the institutions of to-morrow cannot be anything else than a clarified and emancipated adaptation of the institutions of to-day, the technique of converting the legal police and coercive organisations generally of the old order into the instruments of the new, is one of primary importance to the Revolution.

This is a matter in which Russia has been least successful. She started badly with the Tsarist Secret Police, and she had no such unarmed civil police as middle-class Britain, for instance, had become accustomed to. The idea of trial in open court was an unfamiliar one. As under the old-fashioned British Raj in India, there was no hard and fast distinction between civil crime and political crime. The Western revolutionary movement can develop from the start at the higher level of the Open Conspiracy and the Candid Life.

In all countries where the police are not jealously watched by independent Visitors, properly empowered in the public interest, the ill-treatment of prisoners to extort confessions and evidence is a dangerous possibility. Moreover in Russia there is no writ of Habeas Corpus, and men and women fall into the hands of the police and disappear. These things are alien to the Western spirit and they have been made much of—made too much of—by those who are interested in maintaining or restoring the old order of things in the West and who wish for a permanent breach between the 1917 Revolution and its natural and greater sequel, the dawning World Revolution in the West, with which we are now concerned.

Probably a majority and certainly a large proportion of—what can we best call it?—the Social Order Personnel, from the judge on the bench and the experts at Scotland Yard, down through the various sorts of magistrates, paid and unpaid, and the local superintendents, to the youngest of traffic policemen, is what we may describe as honest men, who have a sense of duty and want to do their duty and not

get into unnecessary trouble. They may, like the medical profession, be a little tainted by professionalism—dog does not bite dog—but not to any serious extent. There may be some centres of corruption, as when some absurd law such as Prohibition in America or the interference of the State with prostitution, opens up great possibilities of blackmail—and then honestly disposed men in these services may find themselves menaced with threats of frame-ups and physical violence if they do not fall in with the prevalent abuses—but that sort of thing is the exception rather than the rule. Most of them can be counted upon to go on with their duties in a new regime as worthily as in the old. They may be disrupted but they will settle down again. They will hate to be used for purposes of political repression quite as much as for purposes of insurrection. The judge and the constable are men highly trained to say: “It is the law. I must do my duty.”

Nevertheless, in spite of this temperamental disposition for duty and compliance without any unnecessary criticism of the instructions given, we have to bear in mind that the entire Social Order Personnel has grown up in a master-man society, and that in the past social discipline has consisted very largely in keeping the lower sort in their places. This will certainly give a bias to the reactionary right rather than to the revolutionary left, and it is a very fine issue how far that bias will carry an ordinary soldier or policeman who has to handle strikers or political demonstrators, especially if he has been shifted out of his own locality to where people have a different colour or language from his own.

The contemporary policeman is a wages earner and subject to the normal conditions of wages employment, and his family and friends are ordinary people like himself. He probably shares the growing discontent with the blunders of aristocratic-democratic government. There will be little doubt that the private ownership interests and the organised religions of superstition and dominance, which are most directly threatened by the onset of a modern equalitarian way of life, will make the most strenuous efforts to maintain and develop that bias and get him into a situation where it will be most

ffective. Everywhere now it will be the task of every Revolutionary within or without the Social Order Personnel, who has any opportunity or influence, to do whatever he can to keep it out of politics, and to prevent its exploitation in the Game of Duty and Discipline. Such organisations as the Council for Civil Liberties must be joined and invigorated. Small local groups can be formed to publicise and fight the endless boycotts and discriminations of local reaction.

I was talking the other night to a very distinguished soldier who was for a time head of the London police, and he told me of some of the difficulties he had met in cleaning up one particular division which, like the baby of a Calvinist, had been not so much corrupted as born in sin. It was the division that had to deal with whoremongering, gambling and the like, and the subtleties of the conflict, into which it is unnecessary to enter here, revealed a very interesting state of affairs. The gist of the matter was that it was unavoidable that the men of the division in question should know the people who organised the criminal side of the business. They got to know them only too well.

Innocent people imagine that the anti-social activities of planning robberies, marking down suitable cribs to crack, disposing of stolen goods and so forth, are run by obscure, isolated and furtive individuals of the Fagin type, so that you can tell them even by their smell. But really there is much more in it than that. A lot of organised crime *pays* very well, and it passes by insensible graduations into legally permissible forms of private enterprise. It can lead an attractive social life, dominate particular restaurants and clubs. So that it may be very difficult for a particular division in a rich neighbourhood to keep clean and away from the general criminal network in which we live. The hunter and the hunted may easily find themselves sharing considerable hospitalities and being men of the world together. They fuse into a social group and come to friendly understandings. How far that sort of thing is possible in a socialist state where there is general prosperity and no relative opulence is hard to guess. It will be less but it may recur.

It is unnecessary to repeat my friend's story here. I hope he will write it some day. The point to be stressed in what he told me is that he did succeed in getting honest witnesses and clearing up the situation to a large extent. They came forward often at considerable risk to themselves. Nothing compelled them to come forward. So that even in our present acquisitive social system quite a number of people are trying to be honest.

That is very reassuring. But so long as it *pays* to organise gambling and prostitution and to deal in black markets, this problem will recur, and in the immediate post-war confusion of the revolutionary transition, it is likely to assume enormous proportions. It has intensified very rapidly in the last year or so, because of the improvised socialisation of national life under the stresses of war. We discover how feeble yet is the co-operative sense throughout our Western community. The morale of the possessing classes has always been to acquire and hold on with an irrational and forced sense of righteousness. They believe they are entitled to the best of everything, and they do not stick at corruption if the best is denied them. This leads by imperceptible gradations to complicity with gangsterism pure and simple. Until at last the gangster is strong enough to turn upon those who have fostered him.

For nine or ten thousand years there has been this tradition of upper classes who dominated and had masterful ideas—the police and the Army existed primarily for them—and lower masses who put up a feebly organised resistance to that superiority, who had little or no sense of class loyalty, much less of social loyalty, and who were ready to develop reciprocal corruption systems at every opportunity. The possessing classes do all they can to make and keep profits out of the war, and, looking ahead, to cripple that collective bargaining which is the only safeguard of the worker against the necessity of his fellow-workers. The workers smoulder in discontent and distrust, have to be bribed by spasmodic increases in pay, and insist that while life is being conscripted ruthlessly, the complete conscription of property remains a rhetorical gesture.

American conditions have produced problems in police

control widely different in their character from those in Britain. The naive disposition of inexperienced and uneducated democracies—and except in a few progressive states, the thoroughness of American education is far below that of Western Europe—is to demand laws that involve the most outrageous interference with private liberty—Prohibition is the glaring example—and to expect the police to enforce them without fail.

This in itself would be dangerous enough, but it is made much worse by the fact that in several states the allocation for police expenditure is impossibly low. The capital of the state of Illinois is not Chicago but Springfield, the capital of New York State is not New York but Albany. The embattled farmers of Springfield passed blue laws of the most artlessly stringent character and at the same time cut down what from their perspective seemed to be the enormous apportionment for public services in the big city. The consequence was that the police could carry on only by systematised blackmail. It had to have a tariff for the toleration of brothels, saloons, gamblers and the like.

“Protection” by gangsters goes on in every trading country in the world; it is rife in Burma, India, China. Even in London, when I moved into Hanover Terrace I was offered “protection” from burglary, by a self-constituted guard of ex-policemen and the like, over and above the normal protection for which I paid taxes, for a modest supercharge of £12 a year. I did what little I could to explode that organisation. All over the world the same sort of thing prevails, and the less of the spirit of it that the Revolution has to carry over to the new state of affairs, the better. Whenever the old-fashioned little dealer seeks his anxious profits, he is squeezed between the big competitor who wants to absorb him into a shop chain and the “protector”. The Revolution works for a world where such things cannot occur, and so whenever there is a fight for “clean government” against police corruption, whatever the political colour of whoever is making the fight may be, that fight makes for the new order of the world, and calls for the willing help of the conscious Revolutionary.

If we turn now from the morale of the police stratum of the coercive organisation of society to the legal section, we open up longer and broader vistas. We are proposing to scrap a vast collection of localised usages and precedents, in favour of one universal common law, and that involves not simply a codification, so that every man may be at least theoretically aware of what he may do and what he may not do within the social framework, but also it requires the reconditioning of the education and training of the legislative and administrative specialists whose business it will be to revise and keep up-to-date the principles on which the whole framework of legislation must stand.

In many ways the United States is the outstanding awful example of the frustration of the liberating idea because of the insufficiency and lack of foresight of its primary propositions. Most conspicuous was the failure to reorganise its legal methods in sympathy with its new aims. Not only was man liberated from the tyranny of privilege and dogma, but private property also was set loose, and in the race for release, property got well ahead of the common man. For a century and a half the common American has been baffled into a sort of cynical apathy by the sense of how little real private or public freedom the Declaration of Independence has given him. The Constitution, considered as a going concern and not as a rhetorical document, works out as an open conspiracy of big business executives, corporation lawyers and political bosses, operating in close cooperation with an advertisement-sustained press and the mercenary religious organisations of the country. It is a government, savage when attacked and suffocating when ascendant. The essential meanness of its spirit is ill-concealed by a large vulgarity of personal stunting and display. It has not so much developed the natural resources of a great continent as laid them waste, and, in spite of some bright exceptions, its contributions to the cultural inheritance of the world are dwarfed beside its neglected possibilities.

We have spoken of the Propaganda organisation of the World Revolution as the primary network which must hold

together the progressive development of the new World Socialism. But as that propaganda advances, it must pass on from persuasion and transformation to control. It must annex, permeate, assimilate and merge into the legal organisation of the new world.

Philosophy has been called specialisation in generalities, and similarly the thought and education of the world's legal personnel must be an intensive specialisation in the general ideas about the origins and significance of the new social order that will be given to everybody in the common schools throughout the world. Lawyers will still be "learned brethren", but instead of their learning being the amazing jumble of tricks and precedent it is at present, they will proceed from the common school to a thorough study, first of general biology, then of general ecology and then of that very special branch of ecology, human ecology or sociology. They will treat the human species, the world society, as a living organism made up of individuals with rights and duties towards that biological whole. They will develop a very considerable literature of research into the operating causes in the world society and upon their influence upon that continual adjustment between consumer and producer and between the great producing and distributing systems which will constitute the bulk of litigation and legislation in the new world. Their preoccupation will be much more with equity than with the enforcement of contracts. It may be a permissible plea in court that this or that is not "in the general interest." Upon these broad lines and upon the interaction of the ordinary citizen with the administration of public affairs which has been discussed in Chapters VIII and IX of Book One, the legal and administrative procedure of the new order can be expected to develop its own rational details without any grave setback.

II

THE LAY-OUT OF THE REORGANISED WORLD

THERE is a considerable amount of projecting and promising on the part of politicians about the wonderful new state of affairs that is to reward the common folk for their sufferings and sacrifices in this war if they will only refrain from any real revolutionary ideas.

Most of this platform stuff is obviously—to use the homely phrasing that best describes it—“bunkum for the suckers” divorced from any possible reality. It is professed in fragments and without reference to the general form that world reconstruction, if there is to be any enduring world reconstruction, is bound to take. But some at least of what is held out to us is put forward in all good faith, and embodies the serious aspirations of limited intelligences incapable of seeing the world movement as a whole.

We can take as a topical instance, such talk as that of Lord Winterton and his kindred British Tories, about the “Restoration of Agriculture” in Great Britain. They miss the steady disappearance of the hat-touching class, and it seems to them that the world is going sadly astray. They have not only the whole world of squire and parson, county family and the stately homes of England behind them in this matter, all the forces indeed that have put England where she is to-day, but also the practical support of Tennyson’s Norfolk farmer, who needs only protection to keep what he considers to be the leading British industry in a flourishing condition. At the back of these reactionary forces is an influential literary tradition, a widespread wilful superstition among the genteel, that the born countryman or countrywoman is red-cheeked, stalwart, bright-eyed and intelligent in comparison with the short-lived miserable Cockneyfied town dweller. All the vital statistics contradict that, and no observant person who tries a spell of village life can fail to

observe the passionate desire of every intelligent boy or girl to escape from that dull life of servitude away to the vitalising atmosphere of the town. The rural population of Great Britain tends naturally to become a residuum of the unenterprising submissive dull, from which all that is energetic in the other English-speaking countries has been derived and drained away. Nevertheless the tradition of "Back to the Land" is powerful in British sentiment; my friend Robertson-Scott runs the most delightful propaganda for it in his *Countryman*; and few promising politicians fail to put the "Restoration of British Agriculture" into their programmes.

They are like general dealers who say, "If there is anything you require, we have it", and if you ask them what sort of world settlement they are looking forward to, they will slap half a dozen varieties on the counter in no time. One very popular article, selling very well now, is "Federal Union" à la Streit. There is to be a common citizenship, a common money and free trade throughout a Union of the United States and Britain (no Russians need apply). "Well," you say, "that means that the Middle West will go ahead with large-scale agriculture, irrigate and generally recondition its wasted areas, and feed all Europe. Good. But then what becomes of that pink-cheeked British agriculture, and who will touch hats to the gentry? Anything you do to protect that will outrage the reasonable ambitions of the Middle West. You can't have it both ways. Either you mean one thing or the other. If you mean anything at all? Which is it to be?"

"We have raised the agricultural minimum wage to three pounds a week", says an agricultural reformer. "Doesn't that satisfy you?"

"Inflation", you object, "is already taking care of that. . . ."

All these fragmentary schemes are incoherent and mutually contradictory. If there are to be any more wars at all, then it is not merely necessary to make Great Britain's home food supply sufficient, but also the sooner the whole population, the roads and railways, are put underground at a sufficient

depth to be safe from bombing with 10,000 pound bombs, the better. So far as wheat, staple foodstuffs, go, these Back to the Land schemes are stupidly impracticable at the best and stupidly dishonest at the worst. As they approach rationality they assume more and more the form of an intensive and highly skilled suburban production of fresh fruit and vegetables, new laid eggs, dairy produce, hot-house tomatoes, grapes and the like, straight in a few hours from the producer to the urban consumer's table. For the rest of the land, forest, grass, garden and playground are the alternatives.

The only coherent project that harmonises with the natural trend of economic development and the awakening revolt of mankind, is the threefold equalitarian socialist World Order, and every item of "reconstruction" or restoration that does not mesh with that is negligible by the World Revolution.

For every human product there is a soil and a climate, a place of origin which—having regard also to convenience of delivery—is the best for that product, and that is where it ought to be produced. That is what the world is coming to, universal free trade, if it is coming to any sort of adjustment to the general human problem, and the sooner we get there, the less human life will be spilt and wasted in the process.

Let us, therefore, return to current realities and consider what other main heresies are likely to impede our path to a vigorously reorganised world.

One very attractive idea which begins and ends in the air is what is called regionalism. The projectors sit down before maps and divide them into beautiful self-contained regions. This is to be a light industry region here and a consolidated coal and iron region here, and so forth and so on. The possibility of overlapping is entirely disregarded. I find Mr. Middleton Murry in his *Europe in Travail* sailing away with this sort of dogmatism:

" . . . true hope of new life seems to lie not in centralisation but in de-centralisation . . . in local cooperation and community. . . . The only way of conceiving a large-scale democracy is to conceive it as a federation of regional democracies. . . . Nothing that could be done efficiently by

the regional government should be done by the federal government, and nothing that could be done by the communal government should be done by the regional and so on. . . ."

All of which "only way" was disposed of a third of a century ago in the discussions of the Fabian Society about administrative areas. Then it was shown conclusively that the smaller your area the more readily matters fell into the hands of the entirely localised man, the jobbing builder, the local solicitor and the like, and the more completely the man of ampler interests was disenfranchised. Where in such a scheme, it was asked, did the man who conducted important research work in Oxford and London and who lived in Surrey and sent his children to a school at Brighton, come into the administrative plan? The most vital elements in the modern community were the "delocalised elements" and this scheme excluded them altogether. Everywhere they would be Uitlanders in the grip of the local Boss. It would be far more rational to invert Mr Murry's obstetric methods absolutely and say that anything that could be done by the federal government should be done by that government and not divided up among regional particularisms, and so on, down to the minimum unit.

Mr Murry, you see, is living wilfully in a dream world of untravelled villagers which vanished a hundred years ago. But it is characteristic of these map-dreamers that they are almost industriously ignorant of any previous work that has been done upon their material. There is never anything like the conscientious list of references one finds at the end of even the most unpretending bit of scientific research.

What regionalists have failed to observe is that there is a considerable and increasing amount of locomotion in the world; that people move about, that they move about more than they did, and that more and more of them are on the move. Nor do they note how rapidly the methods of production alter. The lay-out of even twenty years ago is knocked to pieces by the necessary lay-out of to-day. Up to then a great river was one of the most obvious of boundaries

between one region and another. Then came the dams. They came irresistibly with an entire disregard of political forms, in individualist America, in the paternal British Empire in Central Africa, in Soviet Russia, and in all these countries the dammed river becomes now the backbone of a vividly modern community, a centre of diffusion of power and irrigation, and all the old river-bounded regionalism crumples up because of the new regionalism these power dams are demanding.

Our world is full of latent surprises, a prowling surveyor or a chemical experiment may explode limitless possibilities of redistribution. This fantasy of dear little communities settling down and staying put is — But since a considerable number of quite respectable people are taking that fantasy seriously, I will not court the unpopularity a single word might provoke.

Man in great numbers has been stuck to the soil for a hundred centuries or so, that is to say for about three or four hundred generations. This is too brief a period, biologically speaking, to have established any very profound modification in his inherent nature. Quick-breeding creatures like the fruit-fly can be exposed to natural selection for as many generations as that in a year or so. Before he took to agriculture man was a nomad through long ages, and before that a prowler in search of food. The sub-human prowler probably stuck to a familiar habitat if it suited him and kept his own beat there until hunger or a stronger competitor drove him out.

There is an element of delusion even about that age-long settling down to the plough. There is hardly an agricultural community that has been sitting on the same ground for more than a few score centuries. They have always come from somewhere else. The literary gentleman from London likes to idealise the permanent inheritance of the sturdy folk with whom he stays as a summer boarder, cultivating the land of their forefathers, or carrying on the mysteries of flint-knapping or some local metalwork, from generation to generation. The local inhabitant likes to be admired for his

ancestral skill and plays up to the visitor's expressed envy. But—where are his sons and brothers and cousins? Scattered over the earth. Nobody drove them out. They have gone away.

The normal man is disposed to trek. Not all the time, but if the urgency comes to him once in a while that suffices. He goes. One most remarkable and significant thing about the United States community at the present time, is this reversion to a wandering life. An increasing proportion of the population is abandoning the home township and taking to the roads, and an intricate system of road camps is growing up to minister to the new demand. It is a natural enforced response to the shifting instability of employment. You arrive with your car, your family and a few possessions, at a camp where you find a little shanty, warmed and lit, a car park, eating-places, at the cost of a few shillings. You enquire about local conditions. There may be work you and your family can do. You settle down for a spell of work, for a week or a month or a year. The work fails or you hear of better pay or pleasanter conditions. You pack up and move on.

Since this has arisen spontaneously it may develop very much. The student may go from school to school and from teacher to teacher, the artist may seek his atmosphere. I have a son living in a caravan in the venerable city of Cambridge, where his official headquarters are situated. If there is a call for his services anywhere else, he can pack up, get his allowance of petrol, and be off in an hour. That sort of mobility is quite compatible with a pleasant home where there are young children to be considered. But it plays havoc with the regional ideal.

It is rash to attempt too definite a picture of the days ahead, but this increase in human mobility seems to be an assured fact with which everyone who deals with World Reorganisation has to reckon.

In Europe particularly in that time ahead which people refer to vaguely as "after the war", the displacements due to the enormous forcible evacuations and disposessions of

population that are now going on, will have to be restored. So far we have had little in the nature of definite intentions from our warring statesmen, but vague and unconvincing talk of restitution and reinstatement. Benevolent people in the more immune countries like to sit back and think almost tearfully of the touching return of the peasant to the dear old home, a little weedy perhaps but otherwise just as it was.

It will not be like that. . . .

It is all very well for the confused intelligences whose muddlements released the tragedy of this last war upon the world to cling to these jumbled and impossible ideas of reinstatement until time and death overtake them, but since the movement for World Revolution sets before itself a conception of active, clear, hard-headed statement which will dominate the minds of those intelligent sanguine types upon which it relies (see opening paragraph of Book One, Chapter IV) it is bound to do all it possibly can to sweep away these amiable and impossible pipe dreams and give a definite realistic form to this tragic and enormous problem in the world reorganisation ahead.

These pipe dreams of an after-the-war homecoming may not prove so difficult to sweep away. They may evaporate. The mellow restorers may fail to put up any effectual barriers against the reorganisers. In a culminating phase of collapse and disorder, a sort of enervating guilt-consciousness dawns even upon the most resistant. They will go ahead indeed with their traditional gestures, but they will also feel a powerful subconscious urge to have power taken out of their hands. They will not change their attitude but they will be prepared and anxious to accept defeat. Men's minds will turn then for direction to any group, however neglected hitherto, which has clear implacable convictions and can say with assurance, "You must do *this*. You must do *that*."

This happened when Lenin returned to the chaos that was Russia in 1917, and the parallel possibility looms ahead now for all Europe and all that goes with Europe. Throughout this current warfare the United States has played the part of that "Russian steam roller" which was to save conservative

patriotic institutions in 1917. It has been making similar huge imperfectly fulfilled promises and revealing similar internal weaknesses, indecisions and inefficiency. History never repeats itself, and this analogy must not be pressed too hard, but it is sufficiently close to justify the most strenuous mental toil on the part of the movement for World Revolution to work out and stand ready with its clear hard answers to these hard challenges that are becoming more and more audible. . . .

Let us return now to our repatriated peasant. "It will not be like that", we had written.

The little home will be there no longer. The little girl's dolly will not be lying on the window-sill, it will be in the knapsack of a looting German who is buried with scores of his comrades in a charnel pit near Smolensk, the dear faithful old doggie will not crawl out to greet its beloved master and die for joy at his feet, because it will have been killed and eaten long ago. Maybe the fire-scorched walls of the old home will be still standing, or the whole village may have been knocked to pieces by artillery. Or if the place escaped the full tide of warfare and there are even scraps of the domestic gear lying about, it will be unwise to do anything but burn them. Who knows what filthy fugitives have harboured there? The stuff may be crawling with typhus-carrying lice. . . .

Constructive World Revolution has to wipe out the possibility of any such "repatriation" being accepted as sufficient by a war-jaded world. It has to remove the lingering lice and the Herrenvolk and suchlike defilements from these devastated lands, and stand ready with plans for the new industrial lay-out of the countryside, the new and more modern mines, factories, transport and collective farms in which these liberated slaves and prisoners, who have been forced to work by their conquerors, may go on working as free men and joint heirs to the wealth of the world.

The country has to be surveyed and plans have to be standing ready for swift application. And the men who have to do it are the men who have already lived in that country and

studied its possibilities and limitations. Men of the released country, who know their country well, can get to work *now*, directly they join up with the World Revolution. There is no need for them to waste a day. They can go on with it now. There is no need for alien intervention in this, but only for alien sympathy, help and a frank interchange of material and ideas. We ought to have a Polish survey, a Greek survey, an Albanian survey at work now.

"Here", the planners of the new Lithuania or the new Poland or the new Slovakia or the new Albania or the new Italy will decide, "is where we shall put our power stations. There we have water power and there is our coal. There we can best raise food. Here people will go in great numbers to work during the spring or the summer or the autumn, and here will be the towns to which they will return for a spell of vivid urban life, to artistic employment, to education, to cultural activities, as that seasonal demand for workers declines. Here are our holiday resorts for hot weather". And so forth.

As the incubus of war is lifted from the world, and there is no further need for elaborate precautions against espionage, sabotage, subversive propaganda and the like, there is no reason why special types of migratory people like the gipsies should not resume their wandering contributions to the general life. There is no reason why such a community should not percolate to and fro through the habitat of more sedentary types. . . .

Possibly we may still have to deal with the drug traffic in the reorganised world, but the experience of Russia shows that where there are no rich and poor, and women have freedom, the white slave traffic disappears. And these gipsies and strolling players and migrant folk will carry their papers on them, if only to collect their letters, exercise their political rights and establish their identity when needful.

That is the path of human possibility, that is the easiest way, and that is the way for the World Revolution. So

far from these Surveys being new-fangled Utopian schemes they will be based upon the most ancient of all things, geological and geographical reality. Languages and cultures may come and languages and cultures may go, but the mountains and forests, the minerals and rivers, demand the folk that suit them best. They will reconstitute a proper population in a few generations. You can repeat that survey planning of human reconstruction with due regard for local traditions and broad regional differences from China to Peru—provided only that you make it all part of one single world-wide revolution. The problem is open to every sort of people to get on with now, to the decent-minded German weary of the burdensome and now alarmingly unpopular conqueror's rôle that has been thrust upon him, to the Japanese rationalist, to the liberal Italian, quite as much as to the ingenious and creative mind of Henry Ford, to the American New-Dealer, to the Free Frenchman or the British radical. Each can bring his distinctive knowledge to bear upon the particular regional planning that will make the land and the people he knows best, a worthy tessera in the lay-out of that great mosaic, the Federated Socialist Equalitarian World Unity ahead.

III

PHASE OF CONFLICT

SOME years ago the writer's friend Pan President Masaryk came to England and talked to Bertrand Russell (as he was then) and the writer about European affairs and more particularly about the Russian Revolution. He was sympathetic but critical. "In a revolution", he said, "*one has to shoot*. You cannot avoid it. But they shot too much. In a way they were scared at what they had done. They felt insecure. They went on shooting."

That is one of the points where this present Revolutionary

movement has much to learn from the experiences of Russia. There is no reason why we should go on shooting, once the great wheel begins to turn. The World Revolution must shoot as little as possible and only when it must. It must shoot with care and discrimination. Whenever possible it must intern or immobilise for a time instead of shooting.

A lot of the highly desirable killing that will occur as this present war storm exhausts itself, the conspicuous German sadists and terrorists, the organisers of atrocious cruelty, the traitors, Quislings and so forth, will be done and perhaps overdone by the present combatant governments, and the new Revolutionary movement as such will have little or nothing to do with it. It may even have to exert a restraining influence where this war-killing degenerates into indiscriminate massacre. We have to hold back the sadistic hysteria which asserts that "the only good Germans are dead Germans" and so justifies its own craving for blood and torture. But the best guarantee against that indiscriminate massacre is the conviction that the outstanding brutes and evil-doers will certainly be hunted down and dealt with relentlessly.

This sort of thing concerns rather the confused phase before the new Revolution. The Revolution itself will take form as a systematic resistance to reactionary activities. It will, for example, have to organise and support strikes in protest against the removal of police and home guards from their own districts to regions of industrial conflict where they will be strangers to the people, against the regimentation of workers in the interests of private companies struggling to preserve the advantages of ownership, against discriminatory rationing, bad public services, unfair treatment of all kinds. It will have also to carry on a propaganda to enlist public sympathy for the strikers and to sustain a supporting press, freedom of picketing and the general advertisement of complaints.

The first violence will come from the old order in the form either of positive illegality or repressive legislation, and for that the movement must be prepared. The Revolution will then, as its strength grows, take the justifiable course of seiz-

ing radio stations and newspaper offices in order to make its activities plain to the mass of the population, and power stations and traffic centres in order to grip the wrists of the rulers, and save itself from further aggression.

Very large sections of the population will, under the stress of a warfare that yields no satisfaction to anyone, be neutral and apathetic to the coming conflict; others, under the increasing sense of the hopeless inefficiency of the decadent master-classes, which becomes more and more obvious and intolerable with every fresh distress and humiliation of a warfare in which both sides lose and no light breaks, will be ready to support even the most desperate attempts to re-rationalise life. No one who sees anything of the mentality of common people everywhere at the present time but can witness to their progressive drift towards insubordination and desperate remedies. This will be soon the prevalent state of mind in most communities throughout the world outside the Soviet Union. Everywhere the revolutionary propaganda of world common-sense will have been spread, and a revolt in Australia or France or Finland or the United States or Japan or Germany or Italy may serve equally well to fire the mine. And while in the 1917 Revolution there were only two sides to the conflict and the insurrection fought with all the strength of established institutions against it, now the relatively successful Bolshevik system, seen in the halo of victory, will, for all its elaborate diplomatic punctilio towards the reactionary governments that find themselves in reluctant alliance with it, become a perpetual reassurance of success and sympathetic aid to the Western revolutionary.

To guess in which region of the world the struggle may break first is an exercise we may very conveniently defer until we review the international situation in our concluding chapter.

It is from the collapsing old order that the first violence will come, but it will be essentially incoherent. The Revolutionary movement will be facing nothing more capable than the same mental and moral decadence of the old master class that has produced the strategic and military defeats of the

anti-Bolshevik forces throughout the world. Perhaps the most formidable-looking antagonist to the new way of living in the world will be the associated priestly religions, of which the Roman Catholic Church is the most highly organised, tenacious and dangerous. It will incite treason and anti-socialist violence persistently, whenever it can find a foothold.

Since it is the purpose of the creative World Revolution to bring about an equalitarian socialist order in the world with as little killing and suffering as possible, it behoves us to look very carefully into the realities of this powerful-seeming antagonist. On paper it is very impressive to read that there are 331,500,000 Roman Catholics in the world and to realise that probably a reasonably high proportion go to mass and confess and submit themselves to their spiritual guides, not only in matters domestic but in their political actions. The priesthood warns the faithful against mixed marriages and insists on the children being brought up in the Faith—and there are numerous people who bow to that. All over the world this great body of people reacts similarly. It bans—and if it can manage it, it burns—sceptical literature; it monopolises schools, swings elections, intimidates newspapers and booksellers by boycotts and influence. It wangles its way into the permanent staffs of Foreign Offices and deflects national policy. Better not offend it; better say nothing about it, is the way of the discreet.

Yet, is it quite so strong as it seems?

That insistence that the children of a mixed marriage should be handed over to the priest is very significant. Catholics are born and only very exceptionally made. Many fall away because of the attitude of the Church towards birth control and the indelicate enquiries of their spiritual guide. The Church counts these stray sheep, but in such a modern community as America it still hesitates to strain the delicate ties of sentiment that still keep them statistically Catholic.

The huge majority of these three and thirty-odd millions are Catholics, we must remember, because it was quite impossible for them to be anything else. Their eyes were put out before they were born. They are obedient and unques-

tioning because they have never had the slightest chance to be anything else. Their books are chosen for them. They are kept in a social pen. They do not know what questions to ask. All over the world the Christian missions have gone, protected and privileged, with the guns behind them, sowing doubt by the most startling suggestions to the heathen. Great funds have been collected for the conversion of the Jews and for similar religious disruptions. But so far there has never been a free and vigorous mission for the mental release and conversion of Roman Catholics. The questions to ask have never been put to their minds. Such a mission might reveal an unexpected lack of devotion in that hitherto unchallenged mass.

At present this war is putting a very heavy strain on the faithful. The Holy See is dominated by a Pope of strong pro-German sympathies. His most susceptible years were passed in admiring Germans as the Papal Nuncio in Berlin. The Vatican, like Italy in general, has now a strong Axis infiltration, and, wherever the Roman Catholic Church is ascendant, as for example in Ireland or the French Army Command, its influence is heavily against the anti-Fascist powers. Where it cannot do anything on the military side, it works for a premature peace that would enable Jerry to recuperate for a fresh Blitzkrieg. That is an unendurable prospect.

In the American continent, more particularly after the Japanese attack, there is a large proportion of more or less practising Catholics who are also strongly anti-Axis. If the Pope stuck to his own proper business and kept his religion out of politics, that would not matter to the Church. Its doctrine is that the Pope is infallible in matters of faith and morals, but that if he sets up to be a Hildebrand, he does it with no more authority than any other political amateur. Upon the question of antagonism to Soviet Russia, just as upon the issue of birth control, there is—though many of the Faithful do not know it—no authoritative Church decision. But the Vatican, particularly after the advent of Pope Pacelli, and a large proportion of the priesthood are moved by an

over-pious aggressiveness, and they denounce and thunder at their congregations and participate in a propaganda far beyond their proper limitations. Under the stresses of the present struggle these bigoted zealots may find an increasing number of their 331,500,000 adherents quietly dropping away from them, or they may provoke a modernist secession.

Before their emancipation in 1829, the Roman Catholics in Britain were deprived of political rights and debarred from public office. The particular case against them, and subsequent events have more than justified that case, was that they could not give loyal service to their country, when the policy it was pursuing might at any time be incompatible with the manifest determination of the Church to restore and extend a united Christendom throughout the world. The good Catholic wherever he goes is expected to permeate, influence and attack whatever stands in the way of the Church's mission. In common language he is an active or potential traitor.

Now that is equally true of a Jewish Zionist or a World Revolutionary. The World Revolutionary or his forerunner the Communist is in exactly the position of a Roman Catholic with regard to the contemporary political system of which he is a subject. He wants to dissolve and merge it into something greater. He has now the reasonable excuse that the old legal governments are already in dissolution of their own accord. As between the World Revolution and the Roman Catholic Church we have an open conflict of what are technically Treasons to those collapsing institutions. Both Treasons are acutely antagonistic, one stands for a very ancient way of living and the other for a new one, and they fight their battles in the minds of men. We think the Roman Catholic way of life obsolescent and degrading, and they regard the advent of a free-living, free-thinking socialist world with perfectly honest and genuine horror, but neither intends sincerely and permanently to sustain the institutions that crumble about us.

That is what we are, implacable antagonists, amidst an incoherent conflict of political and social dissolution, and that

is why a clear-headed Revolutionist is bound to regard the Roman Catholic Church as the most redoubtable antagonist in his path. How is he to deal with it?

Here we have the method of the U.S.S.R. to give us a lead. The attitude towards Catholicism of the Soviets is perfectly logical and clear. It is that no tampering with the modern education of children must occur. There is freedom of religious worship of all sorts but not of religious propaganda. Anti-religious propaganda *is* permitted. This seems a reasonable adjustment, which the morale of contemporary Russia justifies.

In Russia, however, the Catholic Church was a relatively insignificant body. It had no roots in the country. It had been effectively repressed by the Orthodox Church, and it was only in 1918 after the Bolshevik Revolution that it was possible for the Roman Catholics to have a religious procession through the streets of Petersburg. The inevitable conflict of the renascent Socialist World Revolution and Catholicism will be on an altogether larger scale.

Before the antagonism breaks into open conflict the real strength of the Catholic forces remains untested. They have to be tried out. There is to be as little killing as possible in the Reorganisation of the World. Let things that are dying of themselves, says the Revolutionary, die with all the kindness we can afford them. The Catholic layman is in many cases essentially a follower, and often a very worldly-minded and time-serving follower. He pays and conforms and endows, to keep his business or his social position. In private he is often a scoffer. He thinks religion good for his domestic peace. How long will he go on paying in the storm of taxation and inflation ahead of us?

The real officers and leaders of that great Catholic host are the priests. Can the Church rely on them in a phase of stress? A priest is a soft-handed man with no social environment outside his Catholic circle and little education for any other work than his ceremonies and catechisms. So long as the money holds out and he does nothing to disgrace himself, the Church will care for him, support him and have a use for

him. For an ordinary priest to give way to doubt and break with the Church, his Mother, is like a passenger jumping overboard in mid-Atlantic because he does not like the captain's table talk. At least it is like that so long as the liner floats, so long, that is, as the money is forthcoming. But supposing the money does not hold out!

Even nowadays the avidity of the Church for money betrays a certain hunger. The Church as a business lives on its turnover. It is doubtful if it has very large capital reserves. What will be its balance-sheet in 1943?

Suppose it is an adverse balance and there has to be a suspension of payment!

How many priests will in such circumstances prove themselves militant fanatics? Will there be so very many of them seeking the crown of martyrdom? The Church is not what it was in the second century A.D. How many of the older priests will just become piously inert—especially if we give them congenial monastic shelter? How many of the young ones will be anxious to find clerical employment or minor propaganda jobs under the auspices of the Revolution in this ever more swiftly revolving world? In France the village priest is generally a man of the people and no more a Pacelli Catholic than the writer of this book. He inclines to the popular front already. He is good friends with the village radical. He is altogether different in quality from the Spanish village priest.

What has happened to the orthodox priests in Russia? The only ex-neophyte I met there in 1934 was Mr Joseph Stalin. There were a certain number of churches open but not very many.

The world is changing now very swiftly. When the majority of people realise that it is changing very swiftly, the Revolution will be accomplished.

In Spain at the downfall of the monarchy the new government had to exert itself to protect priests and nuns and churches from the liberated population, and the New Revolution may have to do a similar job of salvage. Religious disputes readily degenerate into outrage. When the Catholic

Latins took Constantinople in 1203, they killed the orthodox priests, raped the nuns and desecrated the churches.

But in one sphere the Revolution will have to be on its guard. In the interregnum before the combatant governments succumb, the diplomatic Catholics who occupy so many key positions in the international machinery will need our earnest attention.

They will certainly do all they can to organise jealousies, suspicions and resistances on the part of the existing combatant governments to the plain common sense of the three-fold federal imperatives ahead. If matters can be twisted round to further armed conflict, more bloodshed and more misery, the better they will feel about it. They will have to be watched and named and denounced. How far will it be possible to avert or mitigate that phase?

There seems one possibility, and that is to go back upon the rash confidence of Peel and Canning in 1829 that it is possible for a government to make a bargain with an alien power in its midst. The Roman Catholic could be disenfranchised again. He could undergo a sort of "*protective disenfranchisement*". Even to-day there are certain offices he cannot hold, the crown, the Privy Seal and so forth, whatever infringes the Protestant Succession, and the list might very well be extended to eliminate him from the Foreign Office, the War Office, the diplomatic service and educational key positions. That will be only *quid pro quo*. He on his part is doing and he will continue to do all he can to reciprocate by keeping the hands of the World Revolution off the international levers.

But when all this much has been arranged for, there still remains a residuum of implacable enemies with whom no course is possible but killing. Killing is really a far more civilised treatment of a criminal than effectively preventive imprisonment, which, like flogging, demoralises flogger and jailer as much or more than the man it punishes. We want either to put the evil man out of existence or we want to drive him to such a fugitive life as will make him practically harm-

less. One is as good as the other. We don't *want* him in a jail. The community must, of course, keep on after him and catch him if it can. His portrait, his description, his thumb-marks and the record of his crime, will haunt him in hotel and post office, but if he can efface himself to the point of being imperceptible, he has done all that the welfare of the world requires of him.

The aim of a terror is neither to hurt nor kill, it is to paralyse opposition. The more it discriminates and keeps on the track of the man it wants, the fewer lives it need frustrate and destroy. The Revolution disavows all vicarious punishment. It is the belief of the Germans in frightfulness and the killing of hostages that more than anything else has damned their ambition to play a leading part in world affairs.

So let the ambiguous gentry who dream of counter-revolution be warned now. Let them take a hint from the wisdom of Mr Samuel Weller, the devoted henchman of Mr Pickwick, and get ready to "prove an alibi" before things overtake them. Mass resentment may be difficult to restrain.

That individual terrorism is the worst violence the New World Order need inflict upon any man alive, and a time may come, a not very distant time, when Justice, though still carrying a sword, may cease altogether to draw it from its sheath.

IV

THE MEDIATISATION OF KINGS AND DIGNITARIES

ONE particular aspect of the inevitable World Revolution ahead of us—inevitable if man is to escape from this present war torment—is the problem of the kings, princes and dignified potentates who have, according to their lights and in the opinion of large numbers of observers, done their duty, as they conceived it, simply and to the best of their

ability under the old dispensation. Many of them have been trained and trained very specially, but narrowly, for their task. They are ignorant and ill-read and living in a world of romantic illusion, but they are not to blame for that. They are punctual, polite and willing. Princes are in the same case with most Roman Catholics; they are born, not made. Directly you bring them into comparison with usurpers, dictators and adventurers, the difference in their breeding is manifest.

Their appeal to the romantic imagination, the glamour of their royalty, becomes apparent in the most unexpected quarters. The Mirabeau story is typical; you will find Left Labour leaders in England "standing up" for poor dear misjudged King Leopold, and it was the supreme glory of the Italian profiteer at the end of the last war to be able to bawl "principe!" when he summoned his private secretary. When the first Labour Government took office in England people expected it to go to Buckingham Palace and kiss hands in modest blue serge suits, but instead it turned up in court dress (at a cost of £40 or £50 a head), partly to show its elegant legs but largely to display its innate gentility. When King Haakon was entertained by the London P.E.N. Club the other day all the lady members, I discovered, had been practising deep curtseys—to the imminent danger of his midriff. He is a tall and happily an intrepid man. One after another they plunged at him. Why trouble to forbid and suppress this inherited disposition to bow down? It can very well be left to the humorous novelist and social caricaturist.

The problem for the World Revolution is how to tolerate this regal residuum without its becoming intolerable. To a certain extent royalty may be prepared to eliminate itself. The roll of princes who have sensed the increasing absurdity of their pretensions and got out of things by personal revolt and resignation in the last hundred years is quite a considerable one. It must be a terrible bore for an intelligent man to be royal. Some of them, I am told, accumulate volumes of press cuttings in which they can reassure themselves about their perplexing existence. King George V used to divert

himself by collecting postage stamps, and the Son of Heaven is an authority on deep sea animalculæ.

We have already in the case of the German Empire a pattern for dealing with this problem that can be adapted with very slight modifications to the needs of the World Revolution. As the unification of Germany proceeded, a number of minor kingdoms and principalities were *mediatised*, that is to say they retained their courts and titles and so forth, in perhaps a slightly impoverished state, but they were relieved of their sovereign power. There is no reason why the World Revolution should not come to an understanding with these amiable but now obsolescent foci of fading loyalties and mediatise them systematically. They can then keep themselves aloof from the world as much as they wish, or they can simplify their lives and adapt themselves to the ideology of the new world according to their lights and limitations.

All this is permissible, but these august personages must keep to their bargain, and if it becomes apparent that in the days of transition ahead they are abusing the tolerance of mankind and fomenting any sort of reactionary conspiracy, let them remember, in the words of England's great poet, that

“ . . . two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more.”

Yet that, when it comes down to these little Peters and Pauls and Ottos and Leopolds and Carols and the like, who are running about the world to-day, with their publicised love affairs and all the rest of it, will be taking them much too seriously. King Charles the Martyr was a sacrificial King in the old tradition, but there can be no ceremony to remind the world of “that memorable scene” if and when these have to be disposed of—if they insist upon being disposed of.

Let them keep out of mischief. They must not imagine that they are called upon to play any rôle in the task of World Reconstruction except a discreet and respectful abstinence. Let them leave the world they have lost alone. Let them condescend to those who desire it and submit if they want to do so to curtsies and hand kissing, but let them do that sort

of thing out of sight in a corner, conferring their titles of nobility and so forth *sub rosa*. Revolutions do not immediately diminish the number of titles; rather they lead to a morbid proliferation of titles. All sorts of people suddenly acquire titles as Hitler acquired his Iron Cross—when nobody was looking. Others are more scrupulous and are careful to get themselves legitimately ennobled. Monarchies nowadays go down spouting orders and decorations. Even when they have gone under completely the stuff still comes up swirling and bubbling from the depths. The world will abound in floating honorifics for many years to come. There may be competing Heralds' Colleges and Almanachs de Gotha—in America particularly—of varying degrees of exactitude. There will be exclusive associations of the purer noblesse. It will all fade away in time in the clear actinic light of the new order.

v

FREEDOM OF ARTS AND CRAFTS

AN issue that may seem at first to be a comparatively minor one, the issue of æsthetic freedom, will be found to broaden out to very fundamental dimensions indeed as it is followed up. How are people who want to paint novel and unpopular pictures or make novel experiments in music, drama or architecture to do so in a socialist state of affairs?

No one with any experience of creative workers would leave these matters in the hands of some Ministry or Minister of Free Arts to sanction or prevent. The great creative artist almost always has a streak of the resentful Ishmaelite in his composition; he knows and even exaggerates his vitalising worth; his hand is all too apt to be against every man's. Under existing conditions he fights Academies, Learned Societies and Institutions, criticism and neglect—and to a large extent he will be fighting them in the days ahead.

But if we consult that quintessence of modern progressive thought, the World Declaration of the Rights of Man, we shall see that under its benign rule the lot of these stormy innovators will certainly be no worse, and it may on the whole be better than it was in the days before the war storm engulfed us. The new æsthetic rebel may do what he likes with his private property (Article 7), he can find or have found for him those who will appreciate and pay for the new thing he is struggling to discover in himself (Article 6), and his supporters are free to form any sort of association they like for the encouragement of his efforts (Article 5).

The difficult *originating* man—it is usually a man—who is the perpetual stimulant of creative work, has nothing to fear from the socialist world order embodied in that Declaration. He is born to lead a stormy life, and in the new world he will storm to as much or to greater effect. But in a much wider field the World Revolution will be in a position to protect and foster the æsthetic life. There are the traditional and often very beautiful arts of peculiar cultures that have been subjected to the most destructive influences conceivable in the past century or so, rugs, carpets, fabrics, dyes, pottery, metal work and so forth. Here the Revolution will come not to direct but save.

There will be no inducement in a socialist state which is no longer under the necessity of mobilising the lives and possessions of its citizens for warfare, for men or women to hoard their earnings. They will earn money to secure delightful things, travel, music, opportunity for expression. It will be a community of easy spenders, and there will be a steady and discriminating demand for beautiful products. They will be asking, and asking intelligently, for these rugs, carpets, etc., etc. So many of the material forms of to-day are the forerunners of the material forms of to-morrow, and the great distributing stores of to-day certainly foreshadow the far greater distributing centres that will adorn the towns of the new time. In these stores now, there shelter a great number of independent shops. If I want a woolly suit of Jaeger's I go to Mr Selfridge's establishment, which is close at hand and far more

convenient for me, and there I find a small Jaeger shop which contains everything I require. The socialist urban bazaar, though it may deal directly in many staples, will also have whole quarters devoted to such individualised shoplets, sharing in the lighting, heating and delivery services of the place, but otherwise autonomous. There the citizen of the future will go to see what the rug shops are showing, or whether there is a Persian carpet that takes his fancy, or he will admire the displays of the metal workers or the picture exhibition.

But these things he will see will not be mass-produced, in order just to sell; stereotyped things that he will take home—and find out. They will be unique pieces of work made by men proud of their skill, who loved to make them, to please themselves first of all—and then, if need be, a purchaser. Not everywhere will our beauty-loving citizen find the same sorts of article, and to find some of the things he most desires he may have to travel about the world. The greedy hand of the profit-seeking exploiter will have been lifted from the business. The interception and demoralisation of artistry by private enterprise that went so far in that age of ugliness, the nineteenth century, will have ceased.

The buying and collecting of beautiful things is closely associated with travel. The importation of foreign artists is as old as international intercourse. Ambassadors brought back craftsmen and invaders brought back loot. The young gentlemen who made the Grand Tour, the tourists who multiplied so greatly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, were startled by the lovely and pretty things they saw abroad, and bought according to their means and brought them home. The buying of things became a recognised practice, and many of the buyers were imitative and accumulated their “spoils of travel” merely because other people did so. It demoralises a maker of things to have an inappreciative fool as a customer. The artists multiplied their apprentices and began to manufacture trade goods. Houses began to be littered with dull “souvenirs” and still duller “curios” and imitation “curios”. The discovery of this market roused the profit-seeking business man to a remarkable helpfulness.

The attack on the craftsman's innocence and purity was twofold. He needed his own peculiar materials and appliances. The business man found it possible to intercept supplies and put the price up, or to introduce cheaper and inferior materials. Dyes that faded, tissues that failed, were good enough for salesmanship and drove the costlier old stuff out of the market. And also the business man intervened in the marketing by getting between the maker and the buyer. Instead of the traveller encumbering himself with great packets of acquisitions, the dealer brought it to his home town for him. There in special junk shops full of new-made antiques, the man with a simulacrum of taste could buy the simulacra of interest and beauty. The tradesman's enterprise went even further and produced stuff for the distant artificer in an incomplete or nearly completed state in Birmingham. The oriental metal worker, for instance, found himself confronted with this half-finished material, wondered dimly, and knocked it into a plausible shape. Birmingham made brass gods for the remotest peoples, and enterprising collectors bribed priests and smuggled them home again, often at considerable personal risk. In this great commercial age now floundering to its final collapse, there was scarcely a thing the ordinary man bought or could buy that was authentic, and a great gulf of unreality, a gigantic overproduction of the undesirable, kept him remote from the Good, the Beautiful, the True, from his birth to his death. So that among other consequences one after another of these various traditional arts and crafts pined away and died, leaving nothing but an industry of inferior imitations behind them.

The coming of world socialism will by no means inaugurate a millennium, but it is reasonable to anticipate a considerable emancipation of artistry as the new world realises its own abundance. The maker of beautiful things and the lover of good work may no longer be exploited, but if they are not very careful they may find their taste being fostered. There will have to be some sort of authority for the supply and assignment of material. The various individual or associated craftsmen will want that put at their disposal, it will have

to be priced to them, and it is quite possible that the Ministry concerned may have to discriminate where there is not an unlimited supply or where there is a rival demand. The Ministry will have to adjudicate according to its lights, and it may survey the world through the spectacles of a benevolent officialdom. Its preferences will need to be watched and challenged.

It is here again that the necessity for those three Articles 7, 6 and 5 in the World Declaration of Rights becomes apparent. People who really care for any technique usually care for it with a certain intensity. No possible revolution will change that vehemence of preference. In a world which is beginning to dare to love beauty there will be a thousand conceptions of beauty, intensities of rivalry, unjust detraction and a great amount of critical publication. Most of it will be distinguished by a healthy acrimony. Endless groups and schools will be going about ignoring each other and enjoying their own interpretation of artistic satisfaction.

That will be the æsthetic life of the reorganised world, and out of it the ordinary appreciative citizen will gain constantly more beautiful cities, the serenity that comes from gracious surroundings, and a continually rising standard of entertainment and culture.

The same principles we have discussed here apply to a number of other human activities, to dramatic associations and a great variety of literary work.

VI

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND WRITING

THE considerations already developed in the preceding chapter may be reiterated here, because it used to be argued and it is still argued that free discussion is impossible in a socialist state, whereas amidst the great free-

dom of "modern democracy everyone may talk and agitate as it pleases him. The truth is almost the exact contrary to this.

Freedom of discussion means freedom of publication, and that has never been complete in any of these democratic communities. The press is sustained by advertisement, and the newspaper proprietor is subject to the pressure of great advertising organisations which co-operate to prevent any effective criticism of advertised goods, suspect and boycott radical and socialistic periodicals as possible antagonists of private enterprise, and are acutely sensitive to the possible effect of boycotts by religious and propagandist organisations which may impair the selling range of the paper they sustain.

The normal newspaper is a sheet of advertisement with articles written to attract, amuse and interest customers, provided they do nothing to detract from the primary purpose of putting goods over to the reader. The man of letters plays the rôle of Santa Claus in the Christmas shop window; he competes, not always successfully, with the astrologer and the gossip correspondent. Or he is beguiled to make thought ridiculous upon the Brains Trust.

An interesting instance of the way in which free discussion can be stifled in a community ruled by business principles is shown in the fight of the medical profession against "proprietary" medicines in Great Britain. There is a recognised and respected trade in deleterious or ineffective preparations which stand between the ailing consumer and competent advice. Every year a vast number of people are weakened and killed by this rubbish, they are advertised to death. The doctors have the stuff analysed and report upon it. They publish their results in a booklet form from which you may learn, for example, that Slogget's Invigorating Syrup, which costs one and six and two and six a bottle, consists of ingredients which you can mix for yourself at the cost of a pennyfarthing and twopence halfpenny, and that its effect upon your system is feebly aperient. The little booklet goes out, and the hand of the whole world of advertisement is against it. It will not be reviewed in any periodical that carries advertisement matter. It may appear furtively on the bookstalls for a time,

but the concocting organisations will protest to the distributing organisations, and Slogget's Syrup will continue to invigorate unblushingly.

Some time ago the trade in misdescribed medicines which either did nothing or stimulated grossly, flourished in America. It must have killed off multitudes. Then some slumbering element in that huge population, which mingles its good and bad factors in a way no European can understand, awoke. The Federal Government, which has complete control of interstate trade, decided that it would be better if every proprietary preparation confessed its composition on the bottle or box and stated as plainly as possible what it did to the consumer. Also, heavy penalties for misdescription were imposed. Thousands of quack medicines vanished in a night.

The existing British Government is too deeply entangled in this trade in rubbish to do anything so drastic. Its profits ennoble peers and contribute to party funds. So before the British citizen turns to whatever news he is permitted to read in his daily paper, he will have run his eye down a column of scoundrelly falsehoods; he will believe that a morning glass of laxative will enable him to leap five-barred gates, and when he drinks hot water with a faint flavour of meat he will still be persuaded that he is imbibing the strength of a whole ox. And manifestly the British medical profession in all its majesty can do no more against this sort of thing than a mouse which scampers across the floor and vanishes, no man knows whither.

Such was the fate of one particularly necessary publication under a competitive private enterprise system. It is only one sample of the way in which freedom of mental intercourse is hampered under existing conditions.

Big Business nowadays is manifestly haunted by a sense of guilt and a fear that "subversive writing" may lead to a terrestrial day of judgment upon its misdeeds. That judgment day is coming anyhow, but the last thing big business will realise is that it is coming in the very nature of things. Subversive writing is not the cause but a symptom of its downfall. But its antagonist it can see, and its own decay it

cannot understand. Big Business can outdo a "subversive" publication because the large advertisement-expanded sheets seem better value for money, it can secure the exclusive services of private enterprise news agencies, because there is no competent public news distribution, it can buy up "attractions", and so on. The handicap against any outspoken newspaper is immense, long before it comes to legal suppression.

The frustration of thought and enquiry under modern competitive conditions does not end with the daily press. The intimidation of publishers and distributors of books by boycotts and the "banning" of books is a proceeding very congenial to the natural intolerance of mankind. It ruffles our serenity to the persecuting pitch to think that other people may think differently from ourselves. Almost all religions will ban, burn and destroy when they get an opportunity. When anyone is sent to prison to think over his life, the prison chaplain will see to it that nothing gets into his hands that does not square with the prison chaplain's ideas of how life should be thought over. And in their fear of cerebration our authorities let the poor wretch have as little light as possible for his reading. It would seem to them the most shameful pampering of criminals to let them out of prison a jot wiser than when they went in.

All this is cited to show how weak is the assumption that under the old system there was any real freedom of thinking and reading, which justifies free writing. And it does not answer this indictment of the old order to say that the undernourishment and suffocation of the mind is as bad, if not worse, in Soviet Russia. It has been said in this book repeatedly that Soviet Russia is only the first pattern of an equalitarian society from whose economic life ownership has been lifted, it is still crudely experimental, and among its most manifest aspects has been an extreme ideological intolerance. We are writing here of the World Revolution of the years ahead, and not of its forerunner of 1917, and we have not the slightest wish to stereotype that first Russian draft. In the last ten years young biologists have had to make a hasty departure from the country because they published their belief

in the Darwinian survival of the fittest, and that was judged to be contrary to the dogma of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That is absurd and monstrous. The framers of the World Declaration of Rights were fully alive to this grave defect in Russian practice, and, as Chapter V preceding this has shown (see p. 129), they contrived a very effective arrangement of stipulations in Articles 7, 6 and 5 to make it impossible in a sanely reconstructed world.

If we bear in mind the inescapable conditions for a hopefully reorganised world on which the whole revolutionary structure of this book is based, we shall realise that this brings the entire intellectual progress of mankind into line with the less generalised anticipations of the preceding chapter. We are likely to have the manufacture of books, printing, the production of paper, their general distribution throughout the community, under the general control of some Minister or Ministers which may tend to be either conservative or disposed to *guide* the thought of the world into some definite direction. Against that there will be the same revolt of the enterprising exceptional, and there will be the same methods of revolt available.

If they are adopted, if these inescapable conditions are obeyed, then there will be little reason to doubt the sustained development of human activity and happiness.

VII

LOVE IN A FREE WORLD

IN Soviet Russia there is no prostitution. Neither is there such a thing as a bastard. Women own themselves as completely as men, and there is no reason why they should sell themselves. So they do not sell themselves. Parentage under modern conditions is a voluntary act. Parents share the

responsibility for their offspring according to their own earning power. It is believed that the possession of both father and mother is psychologically of great benefit and importance to most children,¹ and various methods are now taken in Russia to encourage cohabitation during the phase of childhood, by making separation relatively expensive and disadvantageous.

There is no bar whatever in Russia to a woman having a child by a nameless father if she cares to do so. There is nothing to prevent her having a lover without having children if that is her disposition. This state of affairs is presented as a very revolting one in countries still under the sway of what is called nowadays the Christian ethic. Though all these things go on abundantly under the shadow of the Christian ethic. What the "Christian Ethic" amounts to in practice is that the priesthood should get its satisfaction out of the birth of children.

The Church insists upon a ceremonial marriage under its auspices, and, in order to ensure that end, it has not hesitated to inflict the most outrageous disadvantages, ostracisms and cruelties upon the women and innocent children—for it is far more circumspect with the men—who do not pay tribute to the "ethic". Must not "the sins of the fathers be visited upon their children even to the third and fourth generations?" Part of this vindictiveness is due no doubt to the envious and necessarily very filthy imaginations of the excited celibates who constitute the Roman Catholic priesthood. They are all more or less, like Saint Anthony, the tormented victims of repression. But probably quite as much of their aggressions upon a wholesome sexual life is due to the steadily developed policy of ecclesiastical assertion which culminated in the institution of clerical celibacy by Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. That, he hoped, would leave his priests nothing else but the Church to live for, and at any rate it substituted nepotism for open parental affection.

¹ How far these theories are justifiable is still a matter of opinion. The present writer finds them interesting, suggestive and slightly incredible. Children's minds are tougher and less plastic than the psychoanalysts assume, they do not scar so badly and they are enormously more recuperative.

So the Church has been able to represent itself, at the cost of that crop of outcasts and victims, as the guardian of moral equilibrium. It enforces the "rights" of the man over the woman, it assures him proprietorship of his children, it condones his infidelities. The woman pays. On the other hand it gives the jealous wife the gratification of the other woman's disgrace and a social protection against the intrusion on anything like equal terms of the deliberately attractive. In the case of Kings' mistresses and wealthy and important people, however, it has always been ready to sell dispensations. It is obstinate about divorce, but it is prepared for a consideration to annul the marriage of a wealthy duchess who has borne her husband two children, on her assurance that she really did not understand what all this marrying was about, so that her sons, the present duke included, are known in London, and I suppose in the Catholic Heaven, as the Bastards. I rather think most of us are Bastards whose parents were not united in proper Catholic wedlock, but I will confess I have never investigated this delicate question of our status in the eyes of the Church. So it has rubbed along, the greatest and most respectable of white slave dealers, posing as the guardian of the home.

Perhaps there is a certain injustice in that phrase. The present writer may have too strong a disposition to be pungent about priests. He condemns justly, he pleads, but then he is all too apt to pepper his condemnation. But indeed he recognises that priestcraft may have been a necessary evil in the development of human society. Let him now, after this admission, review without further condiments the development of morality.

We are confronted by wide fluctuations in the importance of sex as the human story unfolds. Those taboos at which our reason rebels, like the inequalitarian master-man society which is now passing away, have been an unavoidable and perhaps a necessary phase in the socialisation of the human animal. There can be little question (see Lang and Atkinson's *Social Origins*) that the beginnings of human society were sexual, using "sexual" in the broader sense that includes all

family relationships. The earlier human groupings were small family groupings and generally they were dominated by the most powerful male, who had driven out his sons and possessed his daughters. Groups might be broken up, but the forces of instinct tended to reconstitute them on that pattern. A matriarchy if ever it occurred was a rare and sterile accident. The male was bigger and more powerful than the female for the simple reason that she was subjected to repeated maternity as soon as she was sexually available. She never really grew up. The male's mentality was the confused mentality of an animal with little or no communication with his fellows to check his ideas—he probably had less use for words than the females of his group—and his attitude towards women was a double one. He knew woman as mother, his comfort and refuge and protector, and also, as an entirely different aspect, he knew woman, other women, as objects of lust, especially when the Old Man was not about.

The broad stages in the development of this sex-linked sub-human group into tribal and national aggregations is traced with the utmost convincingness by Lang and Atkinson. Throughout, it is a sexual story, the chief, the King, the Emperor, the God, is still the father of his people. The monarch is a mighty hunter before the Lord. Only with the onset of agriculture does an economic relationship come in, but the father monarch still leads the hunt and never carries scythe or spade.

So our sex-begotten human society came into being, and when it expanded into the agricultural community, it merely added the subjugation of the productive worker to the subjugation and established inferiority of women. Often the woman drudge was also the chief productive worker. The priest appeared in human affairs as the watcher of stars and seasons, the healer, the sole custodian of writing and record; the temple treasuries were the banks of that old world order. That was the social pattern throughout the civilised world for long ages before the Christian era, and "morality" meant an acquiescence in that. It is perfectly legitimate of the Roman Catholic Church to claim to be the guardian of the institution

of the family and the custodian of that former sex-based "morality". It is a sound claim.

But must that guardianship go on?

The answer to that is that the development of human methods and appliances and the emancipation of women have made economic cooperation in which toil is superseded by mechanical power, more and more the actual social link, and pushed the subjugations of family life into the background. Society is becoming less and less sexual and more and more economic. Mankind is on the threshold of a new sexual freedom which is hated and dreaded not simply by the celibate clergy but by a great diversity of married and established people, blind still to what constitutes good behaviour in their economic life to whom "morality" still means old-fashioned sexual suppressions and nothing else.

The release of women as a social element to equality and responsibility, to knowledge and freedom of action, will certainly transfer the major share in the control of sexual life to them. It is specifically their affair. They will choose their mates, and, in close cooperation with the educational and constructive authorities, they will play a large part in the care and early supervision of their offspring. In many cases they will give themselves to congenial men who have won their admiration and affection, very often they may select men with whom they are associated in their social and economic activities, they will in fact marry for love, and their sexual lives will be a cleaner and happier version of the best family life of the present time. That may be the prevalent grouping. But it by no means exhausts the possibilities of the case. There are fastidious and ambitious women who do not fall in love very readily, they may be women much preoccupied by special work, and both the higher mortality of men at every age and the greater dangers to which they expose themselves leaves an excess of women, by no means physically unattractive or inferior, in the world. The urgencies of nature vary with the phases of life. The adolescent girl has often a very strong impulse to amorous adventure, combined with a very real dread of offspring, and many childless women, preoccupied by

some sort of career, who have disregarded the sexual side of their lives, are seized by a storm of craving and a kind of terror of childlessness round about the early thirties. For a few months they go away, and later on, in the course of a year or so, a child appears that they have "adopted". People may whisper a little. . . .

None of these generalisations involves novel discoveries. We are simply being frank about what has been furtive. Among the more prosperous classes of Europe and America for a generation or so, the class whose daughters go to college and whose sons would not dream of a household until their social position was assured, there is a high proportion of unmarried young women who are no longer virgins, and there is also a certain proportion of adopted children with a sympathetic likeness to the mothers they have acquired. That is how people behave even now against considerable discouragement, and it adds much to the facility with which these things occur that men are, generally speaking, much more ready sexually, more promiscuous and lighter-minded about it than women.

I would underline "generally speaking". There are nymphomaniacs, there are introspective self-centred practically asexual men; there seem to be many other forms of temperamental singularity, but none of these types are more than incidental to the ordinary way of living. They do not concern us here.

As the emancipation of women unfolds, we do not know what proportion of them may become obsessed by their duty to the race. They may want conspicuous and distinguished sires. So far they have seemed to be very careless about the eugenic value of the fathers of their children. They seem to have no innate philoprogenitive discrimination. But that may be because there was no sense in wasting desire upon the inaccessible. "First catch your man" has been their object, and as for the child one hoped for the best. If in the days ahead they take to eugenics with deliberation, it will be something new in life, an intellectual adventure for which there is no inherent urgency. But certainly in the varied and

interesting life to which our race is moving, that door will stand open among endless other possibilities.

It may stand open for a long time without very perceptible effect on the species. Apart from the possibility that a certain preference for conspicuous or brilliant or valiant men may enlarge their possibilities of fatherhood, and that it may be possible to define physical types to whom it will be desirable to deny reproduction altogether—which involves nothing very painful or humiliating—there is as yet very little that is practicable in the eugenic idea. Popular imagination in this matter far outruns the sober practicable possibilities. Children do not necessarily reproduce the qualities of their parents; there is a casting out of half the available genes in every conception and we do not know in the least what determines the casting out. So far as our knowledge goes it seems to be haphazard. A child may “take after” one or other of its grandparents or be a perplexing blend of the qualities of all four of them. Two “splendid” people may produce a very moderate child and two dull people a genius.

There is no analogy between human breeding and the methods of animal breeders. In a stud farm undesirable individuals are got rid of and only the desired ones are kept. In a stud farm the parents are not consulted before they are paired. Moreover an animal breeder breeds for certain specific qualities, for speed, for scent, or for this or that particular point. That is precisely what we can not do, even if we want to do it, with human beings. We have to take everything we beget. Nor do we want a set type, we want a great variety of types.

So that for many generations to come, except that the whole population will be healthier and that such diseases as tuberculosis, syphilis, hæmophilia and many types of mental defect will have disappeared, the sexual emotions and behaviour of human beings will be very much what they are among fortunate, frank and wholesome people to-day. There will be little repression and less perversion, and since most people will be doing the work they want to do and life is likely to be more generally interesting, the rôle of sex in the human drama

will be less important than it is at the present time. It will be there, but people will make less fuss about it. We shall not be driven back upon it to the same extent as a pastime or as a consolation.

VIII

WEEDING AND CONDITIONING THE PLANET

DIRECTLY the vast wastage of war and belligerent sovereignty comes to an end and the burthen of private appropriation is lifted from economic life, an immense task of restoration and reconditioning faces the collective energy of mankind. We have already made some intimations of what lies before our kind, in our Chapter II of this Book Two on *The Lay-out of the Reorganised World*. Here we propose to glance at one or two further agreeable and stimulating possibilities.

In that broad elementary Lay-out which will certainly call upon the utmost energy and imagination our children and children's children can produce, they will feed and clothe all mankind, and they will distribute the first new cities, which will always be changing, the camps, the health resorts, the great roads and routes, the schools, universities, laboratories, power stations, factories and marts, about the world. Simultaneously an ever-increasing survey of resources and possibilities will be afoot. It is highly improbable that human enterprise will be content with our present knowledge of our planet, which is limited to between a couple of miles or so down into what is called "the crust" and the stratosphere above, that stratosphere which has produced so many unguessed-at surprises during the past third of a century and may still have more in store. Nor has even our superficial survey of this limited shell been anything as yet but very superficial. Yet every discovery of new material, either by downward penetration of intensified prospecting, and every

realisation of its biological consequences, means an extension of the collective enterprise of mankind.

Let us consider only one instance of the limitless possibilities of scientific research. Sir Frederick Keeble is a man of science too little appreciated at the present time, and among other neglected contributions to our general ideas, he has called attention to the possibility of controlling certain rhythms in the balance of life that have hitherto been regarded as part of the inexorable pattern of nature. How far is that pattern inexorable?

Every year a certain amount of mineral food, more particularly phosphates, is dissolved out of disintegrating rocks and brought up to the surface and made available for green plants. There is an immediate escape of much of this through flood and stream bearing it away directly to the sea, but some is intercepted, forest and pasture flourish, and the animal life that consumes this green stuff multiplies and increases until it outruns the supply. Then unless the loss is made good, the vitality of the land diminishes. Long before there is any sign of winter, and in sunny climates where there is no winter severity, the pasture, the gardens, the trees go brown, the feed for the cattle diminishes, the milk decreases.

Meanwhile the soluble phosphates have found their way into the sea. There they are seized upon by a swarming microscopic pelagic life, foraminifera, diatoms and the like, which increases and multiplies and supplies the food for a huge proliferation of fishes. Indirectly and directly they are sustained by it. The fish population increases to a maximum and declines. Man and his fisheries again intercepts a certain fraction of this phosphorus-inspired flow, but the greater part of it forms insoluble compounds with other mineral substances, as bones, shells and so forth, and sinks slowly into the deep, beyond any of our present forms of recovery.

Human life, from Sir Frederick's point of view, is a mere incident in the passage of phosphorus from the rocks to the abyss. In a fragmentary way, we supplement the amount of interception by the use of such natural fertilisers as Chilean guano, now almost exhausted, phosphates which have been

snatched back for us at the last moment, so to speak, by fish-eating sea fowl, or we resort to basic slag and kindred foundry products to enrich our fields. A good farmer heartens his ground in this way, his neighbour may or may not do the same. Beyond such petty uncoordinated economies nothing further is available in a go-as-you-please individualistic economy. But directly we turn our minds to the possibilities of a collective world control of natural resources and a deeper penetration of the globe, it is plain that the meagre supplies of soluble phosphates from decaying rocks, volcanic upheaval and the like, upon which all life hitherto has subsisted, may be enormously increased, and that this age-long flow and ebb of land and sea can be replaced by an immeasurably vaster controlled abundance.

We can take this one particular instance of phosphate exploitation as a sample of the endless vistas World Revolution reveals. It is a mere sample of the possibilities that open out in every direction directly the world's affairs are released from the dull constriction of a master-gangster-owner class inspired as a primary imperative by the barbaric craving for lordship over man, woman and child, a class that will go on restricting, devastating and destroying until either by its innate incompetence it destroys itself and us together in a prolongation of the present catastrophe, or the clear common sense of World Revolution wrests the last possibilities of mischief from its hands.

What a hideous tale of waste and cruelty is the history of animal extermination during the past two centuries! Everywhere the fool with the gun has been killing and exterminating—for *sport*! Everywhere the willingness of private enterprise to sanction any profiteering enterprise that puts cheap goods on the counter has led to horrors and massacres. My friend Mr Cherry Garrard has told of the destruction of unresisting penguins knocked on the head and thrust dead and dying into the oil extractor. The king penguin is now extinct and every penguin species dwindles to its end. Our billiard tables and pianos thinned out the African elephant until it was more profitable to load the slave convoys of King Leopold's

Belgian possessions with rubber that had earned the name of red rubber, and which had left behind it on its route to civilisation a multitude of the more unsatisfactory collectors with their hands chopped off to get through the rest of life as well as they could. There has been an immense reduction in the number of seals, of whales and the like. International conventions to protect these creatures are usually ineffective on account of poaching—which is usually condoned by one or other of the signatories to the treaty.

There is no region of the earth of which, when you read a description of its flora and fauna, you will not be told of this or that harmless or exciting creature which "has now practically disappeared". There exists no full account rendered of the total impoverishment of animal and plant life in the past century of intensified travel, improved weapons, enlarged menageries, trained performing animals and ruthless collecting and trophy hunting, but it would be a terrible record of human frightfulness towards our fellow-beings, the beasts. The master class is hateful not merely because it is so drearily and destructively dull. When a gentleman—Lord Halifax for example or his friend Goering—wants to amuse himself he goes out to shoot something or chase it to death. "The whole creation groaneth" because of him.

Plainly that world conservation of natural resources which is part of our threefold project will extend its game laws to cover every form of life, the gentleman killer will no longer be on the bench when the poacher killer comes up for judgment; he will be in the dock beside him; and the observation, the study and the establishment of friendly relations with these humble but often very attractive cousins of ours, will appeal to the types best suited for that business.

The care and protection of animals, the application of a broader chemical, mineralogical and oceanographical group of sciences to the collective human problem, the perpetual rebuilding of cities with newer and better materials and under changing needs, will give congenial employment and interest to great multitudes of bright-minded people. "But who"; some critic whose imagination is still obsessed by the dismal

conditions of the old order from which we are struggling to escape, will enquire; "who will be doing the drudgery of the world?" That question, more observant readers will realise, has been fully answered already, but since this book aims to be clear and convincing even at the cost of considerable repetition, we will answer it again from another angle and discuss the sorts of employment, so different from those of any preceding social order, that the World Revolution will necessitate.

IX

TYPES OF OCCUPATION IN A REORGANISED WORLD

THE dominant industry of the world at the present time is totalitarian war, and everywhere the younger population from the age of fifteen upward, is being drawn into this employment, to the almost complete arrest of whatever peace-time activities they contemplated. It is idle to talk about putting them back to whatever they did before, because they never did anything before. They will have to pass on to the terrific enterprise of world reconstruction as amateurs, more or less willing amateurs, as this warfare dissolves into a plain struggle between the vestiges of the old inequalitarian order and the will for an equalitarian world.

In Chapter II of Book One in this survey (p. 18) stress is laid upon the primary importance of the ordinary young man (together with his young woman) in human affairs. He is, it has been pointed out, the vital core of the matter. Childhood and adolescence prepare for him, and older men who have achieved any escape from egotism, do their best to serve him and if necessary chasten him. To dispose of him, assuage him and find employment and interest for him, is the essential problem of human ecology, and all our political and economic

science is formal, stylistic and futile, it begins nowhere and ends nowhere, unless it turns definitely and directly upon those generations that are in the full flow of life.

A vast and ever-increasing portion of them is either actually fighting or else engaged in work for which it has been hastily trained, the production and transport of munitions and food, nursing the sick and wounded, and suchlike war work. So far as the front line fighters go, great multitudes of them are being killed off, an irreparable waste of courage and fitness, and it is upon the second category that the essential work of world reconstruction must fall. The new tasks that have been imposed upon them and for which alone they have had any training, will pass insensibly into the garrison control of imperfectly pacified regions, into reparation work and the framing of the new world in accordance with the imperatives we have already discussed in Chapter II of Book One (pp. 18-19), and as they do so the underlying conflict that has brought humanity to the very verge of self-destruction, the conflict between the age-old Master-Man system and the individual dignity of the ordinary man in a classless state, will be laid bare. On the one hand there will be the most strenuous efforts to reappropriate the material that has perforce been socialised for greater collective efficiency during the war struggle and restore the worker to his inferior status again, and on the other hand there will be the will and ability of the worker to resist this and carry on successfully in a masterless world.

Here we come upon matters of fundamental faith and opinion. We are not in possession of sufficient data to give us anything like a scientific conviction in the matter. It may be we are asking too much of mankind and that *Homo sapiens*, as we call him, can do nothing without aristocratic and masterful leadership and compulsion, or it may be that he abounds in stifled and undeveloped capacity. In the former case his fate is sealed and this book and all the conceptions of world revolution it assembles and collates are in vain. In the latter case he will emerge triumphant from his present distresses. We do not know with absolute assurance. Yet all

our faith in the world's future must necessarily be based on our answer to this question.

Underlying the world struggle against the Master-Man social order is a profound disbelief in all-round inherited individual, race and class superiorities, a disbelief in Divinities, Kingship, popes and patriarchs, noblesse, hierarchies, leaders and the Great Man interpretation of history. Men of the Revolutionary type are convinced that the absolute differences between man and man do not justify these gradations in human status. Some men there may be who are three or four times as good all round as others at the bottom of the scale, but even that may exaggerate the superiorities and inferiorities. There are great differences between man and man, but as a matter of observation these differences carry with them their compensations. They are differences in quality and not in degree.

Usually what we call a great man when we come to look into the facts of his life, is revealed as no more than a lop-sided man. He has a peculiar drive or aptitude which falls in with the needs and opportunities of his time. If there is no occasion for him, he becomes one of Gray's "mute inglorious Miltons". Even if he does rise to preeminence he is eccentric in minor matters, he is absurdly absent-minded, he is abnormally ill-tempered, he is victimised by his servants, he has secret vicious habits, he is extremely fortunate if he finds or falls in with a faithful friend and disciple. Usually he finds a bear-leader who exploits him. Genius and madness are closely akin, and no man is a hero to his valet. He goes beyond his powers and falls. The typical Hero-Worshipper does not know his Hero; he creates a fable and worships from afar.

Over against these outstanding Great Men, these envied successes, our confused world sets the multitudinous undistinguished. How many of these are human beings with a bent of their own which never gets a chance of development? The bent may not be so marked as the bias of the genius, but it may be something that if it had not missed its opportunity would have given its owner all the happiness of self-fulfilment

and added his special contribution to the heritage of mankind. For the great majority of human beings this denial of opportunity has been absolute. For most of that majority the denial was deliberate and thorough, and even for those who were said to be "educated", the frustration was almost complete.

Quite a number of outstanding men of science, we may note, were failures at school.

The educational system of Europe and America has developed unbrokenly from the schools of the Renaissance when the revival of classical studies launched the promise of a great flood of liberating ideas and a great enhancement of intellectual power upon the western world. The human mind, which had been working its way slowly through the discussions of the schoolmen to the release of neo-nominalism and observational and experimental science, was dazzled by this irruption. Academic authority had always been suspicious of and hostile to Neo-Nominalism with its vulgar practical tests and its annoying disproofs of logically deduced conclusions. The gentlemanly detachment from and disdain for all mechanical arts of the white-handed Greek philosophers was so complete that in a world of skilful low-class and often enslaved metal workers using magnifying flasks and cutting gems, they never even hit upon the microscope or spectacles. This pose of high aloofness appealed very strongly to the reactionary elements in this fermenting Christendom of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

There was a split in the educational mentality of that awakening world. At one and the same time there was first the neo-nominalist scientific movement among enquiring intelligences everywhere outside the schools, and over against it there was the reactionary teaching of the incomparable and final classics now revealed in all their beauty. The former had no language of its own and created a bastard terminology from Latin and Greek roots; the latter sustained a tradition of intellectual superiority, and not merely a monumental incapacity for, but also an influential hostility to new knowledge or thought. For it learning and bookishness were one and the same thing.

The universities imposed a proud defensive pedantry upon the whole scholastic scheme. The quintessence of learning was the boring grammatical study of these dead and eviscerated languages, and every boy of the social classes that were allowed education, had either to submit himself to these unattractive disciplines or be condemned as unfitted for further learning.

But human beings are for the most part born curious and observant; they want to know a thousand things, and it is only a comparatively docile and blinkered type that yielded itself readily to this literary instruction. In academic and clerical circles there have been quite a number of infant prodigies who acquired Greek, Latin and Hebrew before their teens and never learnt anything more for the rest of their lives. That submissive facility gives one the typical scholarship-boy and the college don, the mandarin of the western world, and until very recently it has been the gauge through which everyone who wanted to play a part in the mental life of mankind had to pass. Even resistant and unwilling boys were beaten and broken into it. They were punished for wool gathering and a wandering mind. They were driven remorselessly along the narrow track of the schoolmaster's ignorance. What he knew was knowledge, and there was no other knowledge permissible. No other bent was given a dog's chance, and so ready are human beings to accept the values of the world in which they find themselves that innumerable people with paralysed gifts, possibly of the most extraordinary sort, go about with a sense of intellectual inferiority, avoiding all talk and discussion but pretending all the same, as far as possible, to have benefited by the valuable discipline of failing completely to learn to use two not very difficult languages as the substantial part of their educational career.

A large part of the unimaginative inefficiency displayed by the British "ruling class" during the disasters of the past few years, is due to the training in evasion and in fumbling habits of mind which has been imposed upon them as their "education".

But now a very strange phase is happening to the world.

What is called "education" is drying up. An increasing proportion of children are being shifted about and prevented from settling down to any general instruction. Teachers have been called up or overworked or given impossible transitory classes. All over the world youngsters from the age of seventeen upward have been enrolled in the war effort and either put directly into the business of killing or into some special war work for which they are rapidly trained; they learn to fill bombs with explosives or work upon some particular phase in gun-making or aeroplane equipment or the like.

There is a very considerable sorting-out of these young people according to their natural bents. Every foreman is trying to get rid of the duds and the dangerously inept and to stimulate the ones most apt for the work by promotion and increased responsibility. This is going on all over the world. So that we are moving towards a phase when we shall have a population of young people completely uneducated in the standardised scholastic sense, but sorted out as they have never been before according to their natural bents and in close contact with some form of practical reality. The longer this collapse and slaughtering of the old world system goes on, the more will the old class differences be stripped off the social fabric, the more amenable will this New Youth of the World be to the idea of a World Revolution, and the more practicable and necessary will it be for it to pass over from specifically war employment to the new tasks with which World Reconstruction will confront it.

These tasks will involve a whole series of new occupations and specialisations. The social pattern will be profoundly different from the world that dies under our eyes. Within a few short years the histories and stories and dramas of the world before totalitarian war will read like an obituary or a fairy tale. They will need ample notes and illustrations to make them understandable.

Let us assume our success and that common sense and clear thinking have secured such a grip upon the more vigorous types throughout the world (not merely in the white communities but among every colour and race) that the Revolution is

struggling forward to its achievement of the New World unity, and let us first make a rough general agenda for its establishment. We shall need this to be done and this and this. And we have this mentally stripped world of young people to draw upon for these tasks. It is manifestly the maximum economy of effort for as many of them as possible to go on with the job they are doing now and develop directly into citizens of the new state. The principle that Revolution is the transformation of a going concern and not a fresh start cannot be too frequently insisted upon. But the vital going concern we have to take over is not the moribund old world before 1933, but the present universal war struggle to end totalitarian warfare. That struggle gives us our new world in the raw.

Many of the existing war and transport services of to-day may carry on into the new time without any extensive changes. They will probably increase their personnel. There is first the searching surveillance that will have to go on to prevent furtive attempts at revolt and rearming. This is work that will appeal to the sanguine type of character which finds its satisfaction in the exercise of delegated authority. Every race and nation produces this type in variable quality, and unless such individuals are impeded, they will naturally gravitate to this employment. They will be abundantly available in the years ahead in which they will be most needed. Then as the sense of social security returns and new possibilities confront them, they will diminish in numbers relatively to the general population until little more than a world police remains.

But closely associated with these authoritative types will be others who will prefer to switch from combatant war activities to work connected with the rehabilitation of populations. There will have to be a vigorous distribution of food, drugs, instruments, fertilisers, machinery, appliances of all sorts, ploughs, tractors. This is not a business that is done once for all. There are endless replacements and readjustments needed. This will be done in cooperation with the consolidated shipping of the world, but much of it will not wait for shipping. As the new Lay-out of the world becomes definite, these world transport services will be drawn together into a self-conscious

world organisation. They need never be disbanded. They will never "go back" to the old owner-ridden, debt-collecting world, for the simple reason that from the day they were called up the incubus of the past fell from their shoulders. They will just go on with a masterless world stripped down to reality—*our* world. As the Russians do.

Another line of work for which the available air transport will be none too abundant, is the suppression of pests like the locust and blights and so forth, by systematic observation and spraying. Scouting for everything from forest fires to animal migrations, scouting in close cooperation with efficient ground organisations, is another form of vividly interesting work ahead. And there will be an ever-growing call for air travel as men and women draw their pay and desire to take a look at this world they own.

All this again demands airfields, ground staffs, economisers, inventors, and so we spread out our agenda towards metallurgical workers, fine-handed engineers, and they again have to eat and drink and be clothed and housed. In order to have abundance there is one thing we cannot afford to waste, and that is human life and energy. We want to cut out every unnecessary activity in the production of the staple necessities of life. We do not want fifty labouring drudges to produce something that five properly equipped men can produce with half the physical strain. This applies most strikingly to food production. It is imperative to get as many workers as possible off the land because they are wanted so urgently for better paid and more desirable work in the new scheme of things. A good ploughman was a very admirable person, driving his faultless furrow across the field, but if he was good enough to do that he was good enough to do much more for himself and the world. It is through his employment in agricultural toil that man owes, as we have shown, his subjugation to a master class, and it is through his release from this servitude by mechanisation and the intelligent economy of his skill, that his attainment of equalitarian self-respect is to be sought.

So all over the world—for this applies now to the Chinese

or Japanese peasant, quite as much as to the European small-holder—their new air and transport services will be drawing away the girls and lads who were set to toil in the fields and so release men for soldiering during the stresses of the culminating totalitarian warfare. The Revolution will be reconditioning them for the new jobs it will have to offer them. The very large collective farm constellations with which Russia has been experimenting, is the line upon which agricultural production seems likely to develop. Some of those demobilised land workers with an inclination that way, will go on to the intensified, electrified horticulture at which we have glanced in Chapter II of this Book, and to poultry farming, dairying and so forth. Others may be glad to knock the soil off their feet and follow a bent in some other direction that the struggle has suppressed hitherto.

The Revolution, as it fights to secure its grip upon the world, has to discover the personnel for its spreading propaganda and organize their unity and convergent activities. The World Declaration of the Rights of Man is the basal statement of its present aims. That Declaration may still need considerable amendment in one direction. It has been pointed out how saturated is its Article Eleven with this western liberal method of parliamentary government. There must be modes of village administration in China and India, much more akin to the jury system to which we have turned in Chapter IX of Book One in this summary. In this respect it seems western thought may have to bring itself into line with some clear-cut modern oriental intelligences rather than play the rôle of teacher.

Except, however, for that clause, no defect in that cardinal Declaration, as it is given in the Appendix, has yet come to light, although it has been exposed to the scrutiny of thousands of critical and hostile minds. Now obviously it has to be translated into as many languages and idioms of thought as possible, and explained clearly to everybody in the world. At first some of these propagandists will be like missionaries coming into a new region, but as soon as possible the work will be taken over by men and women of that region with no

further suggestion of alien intrusion. Their effective cooperation in spreading the New Gospel of Human Freedom and Brotherhood will be sustained by the nexus of the central propaganda literature. (Cp. Book One, Chapter IV, *Revolutionary Strategy*.)

Obviously this propaganda is destined to become the educational organisation of the new world, as Chapter VII of Book One insists. The enormous facilities for distributing clear knowledge and ideas throughout the world afforded by modern inventions are indeed there, but the fact remains that here again, and in spite of these economies, there will have to be a tremendous readjustment and reconditioning of occupational categories in this connection. The new social order will have a use, and an important use, for every trained teacher in the world. And here, I suppose, there is great scope for the reconditioning of many of the white-handed young priests, and of what used to be called the "educated proletariat" in India and elsewhere. We have already speculated upon the outlook for the young priest whose pay may vanish in the coming impoverishment ahead of us (Chapter III of this Book). Here it is interesting to stress the fact of the existence, in Bengal for example, of a huge reservoir of lively-minded youngsters with a strong disposition to throw themselves into the propaganda of a revolutionary movement.

Many of them seem to be slightly under-vitalised by their surroundings, and so far they have had the feeling of insurmountable barriers to anything they may attempt at reconstruction. Some play at a rather irrational travesty of parliamentary government, an alien political form very ill adapted to their qualities. Others turn towards Communism, which comes to them through Russia, but they must find its social classifications, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and so forth, a little incongruous with Indian realities.

India, through a conspiracy of circumstances, is not merely under-nourished but miserably educated, it needs over a million common schools it does not possess, and, as the spring-tide of the World Revolution comes flowing into this land of arid opportunity, there is bound to be a wide realisation of the

great change that is coming to the world and of the opportunity for quick assimilatory and explanatory minds using Hindustani, Tamil, Gujarati and so forth as their media, and maintaining close intellectual interchanges with the west, to pave the way for the entry of India's varied millions on equal terms into the federal union of mankind.

In many regions India is over-populated, having regard to the available food supply. Climatic conditions make life move faster than in many other parts of the world, and the Bengali is not simply mature earlier and old earlier than the average human being, but he is crowded upon areas that under-nourish him and give him the easiest outlet in cramped and limited surroundings, procreation. They "breed like rabbits", but what else is there for them to do? The vast majority of the people in the peninsular continent have no more chance of full individual development than the dwarfed cattle one finds on the over-grazed native reservations of Kenya. We have no measure as yet of the moral and intellectual power this huge population can develop, if it is properly fed and gets vernacular schools. The western world has known the Indian student chiefly as an uneasy stranger talking all too glibly in an alien tongue, learning in a swift indiscriminate fashion, and winning scholarships all too early. But in spite of the tangle of circumstances that has frustrated the self-realisation of all but an infinitesimal fraction of the Indian population, its contributions to the synthesis of human thought have been such as to justify the belief that the World Revolution will release a vaster amount of understanding and serviceable intelligence from this agglomeration of peoples than from any other part of the globe.

To recur to the terminology introduced in Chapter IV, § 1 of Book One; the average Indian genotype is probably as good or better than any other, but its resultant phenotypes suffer from an almost universal deprivation and misdirection.

The social revolution will mean in India and China very much what it has meant in Russia, the release of the mass of the population from the peasant life, and a rapid increase in the proportion of modern skilled workers. Here again the

World Revolution means nothing more than a rapid acceleration of processes already in operation. The technical modernisation of India was begun by that valiant pioneer, Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata (see his *Life* by F. R. Harris) against very great opposition and resistance in the nineteenth century. He died in 1904. He insisted that the liberation of India was possible only when its productive capacity per head was raised to the European level. The Tata family has done more than any other group to modernise the technical life and education of the Indian people, and their initiative needs only the releases of the Revolution to spread and go ahead enormously. India is now being called upon urgently for munitions and war work generally, and the same stripping down of social categories must be in progress there as we see going on in Europe. It is a world-wide emancipation which leads steadily on to a world-wide levelling down or levelling up of the world as a whole. Then that headlong breeding will slacken off. With a rising standard of comfort, an emancipation of women and the multiplication of other interests, it will subside inevitably. Indian newspapers in the past have abounded in advertisements of aphrodisiacs, so that it is manifest that the young men have not so much been driven by uncontrollable desire as unable to imagine anything else worth doing in life.

But this excursion is taking us beyond our main immediate issue, which is the fact that from India alone, and for propaganda and education alone, the World Revolution will demand the active participation of at least a million keen and ambitious young men. Our world is all before them.

For some years people have been repeating that this war is becoming a war of propagandas. Very largely this is understood to mean nothing more than lying on the Goebbels pattern or making large vague diplomatic promises that may mean anything or nothing, like the Atlantic Charter of 1941. But we who have come to see clearly that this tremendous crisis in human affairs is essentially a conflict between the Master-Man order of society and a regime of equalitarian freedom, are necessarily bound to carry out the principles of Book One, Chapter VII with the utmost rigour.

This is fully recognised by the adherents to the old scheme of things. They are rallying their forces with an energy that witnesses to their growing alarm at their loosened grip upon the popular mind and their hysterical determination to recover it. They still have a strong position in the schools and universities; they mean to use every advantage that position gives them, regardless of the vast essential forces that are bringing down all their world about their ears; and they may make themselves a great nuisance in the rehabilitation of the British mind. In the columns of *The Times*, these worthy mandarins have been given ample scope to display their ambitious plan. Most of them imagine quite honestly that the dire events that are wrenching the world so swiftly and humiliatingly out of the decadent control of the British court, vicarage and county families, are due to— . . . There they vary rather, but it seems that irreligion, machinery, this dreadful science, the Labour Party, Bolshevism and the board schools are much to blame, and anyhow—and forthwith agreement is completely restored—the schools have to be put back under the control of the parsons and science turned out of the universities and banished to the low mechanics' institutes where it acquired disrespect.

One delightful necrophile—I regret I made no note of his name at the time—a Dean of some sort at Winchester, emboldened by the general consensus of the clerical mandarinat displayed in *The Times*, wrote a short and valiant letter out of the abysmal ignorance of his study, declaring that civilisation as he knew it would be lost unless the teaching of the dead languages was once more made the one and only basis of higher education in our country. . . . He is perfectly right about that. But the sooner civilisation as he knew it is lost, the better.

Perhaps English people treat this sort of thing too lightly. They are "humorous" about them when they ought to be hard and clear about them. They do not realise how much their amiable slackness contributes to their present backwardness in the world's affairs.

But this is a digression into essentially domestic troubles. Let us return to the world at large.

There are still other broad fields of employment into which our war generation with its stripped and liberated minds will find its way according to its aptitudes and inclinations. We can but glance at their inevitability here, and in the broadest terms, but we must take that glance because of the reassurance they give of congenial employment and self-fulfilment and of an immensely varied social life that lies before us. Let us consider, for instance, the new architecture that will ensue upon the Revolutionary World liberation. In the days of the master-man centuries there were three main types of building. There were the palace and citadel, the temple and the hovel. The vast majority lived in the hovels, and they have vanished without a trace. Everything in the old order derived from above. The middling sort of people, until well into the middle of the nineteenth century, furnished their houses with second-hand stuff bought at sales. Servants had no rooms of their own and the picturesque insanitary English cottages came into existence as an earlier break away from a crowded mediæval farmstead. There was no glass in the windows of the early cottages, and "eavesdropping" was a great nuisance. We are still in a phase of rudimentary housing. It is only comparatively rich and capable people who can live in beautiful homes.

But in a world that no longer tolerates the appropriation of more than a very limited patch of land for purely private enjoyment and none for speculative exploitation, an immense demand arises for architectural adaptation and invention. The past half-century has made some interesting experiments in town planning, large semi-collective buildings of flats, garden cities and the like, but they are the mere first intimations of the visible lay-out of an emancipated world. The desire to plan and arrange and decorate things is very strong in multitudes of people, and now multitudes of them will get their chance.

In many cases, in the prettier parts of the south-west of England for example, there are many villages and townships that the new world will be loth to efface. Here I may quote an optimistic glimpse of the countryside in 1951 during the years of reconstruction.

"The countryside will be as green as ever, greener, because in a world of free trade no longer in fear of war there will be no reason for ploughing up all the land. Large areas will have reverted to pasture. Heath and common will have become lung and playground again. The fields will be larger than in the old days of horse agriculture; fewer hedges because of the throwing together of fields, greater trimness in the woods and signs of reafforestation. The church spire, the inn sign and the country house will still dominate the scene. But the village will have grown considerably, and a fine, highly equipped schoolhouse, with public library, museum, theatre and social club, will have introduced new features on the village green, and new elements into the population. Many of the children will be town-born children withdrawn in summer-time from the more congested industrial and business centres to the refreshment of country life. The housing of these children will be more of an open-air camp than an old-fashioned boarding school, and the designing of their accommodation will be one of the tasks that will make architecture the most enviable of professions in the world ahead.

"The church and meeting houses will be better attended, because they will be more interesting. The Malvern Conference has made the Established Church of England definitely socialist, and week by week the spiritual basis of economic equalitarianism will no doubt be expounded from the pulpit. The village public house, released from a hundred petty restrictions, will develop its own disciplines. Subject to the traditional restraint upon bad language, the bar will remain a place for free discussion. The warm and friendly bar parlour has always been disposed to keep a critical eye on 'parson'. These old antagonisms will live so long as Britain remains Britain.

"The 'stately homes of England' will still dominate the scene. They ceased to be homes long ago. They played a considerable rôle in political life for a time as the assembly places of week-end parties. They were built for gatherings and interchanges. But it needed a great army of servants to keep them habitable. Their sanitation was archaic. The

impoverishment of the first World War and rising wages closed their career. Many changed hands and suffered inconsiderate modernisation. Others are 'kept up' desperately until recurrent death duties shut them down. Some became country clubs and hotels. Yet many are architecturally magnificent; they possess gracious reception rooms, they abound in fine decoration, admirable furniture, tapestries, works of art and historical associations, they are beautifully situated, they have lovely gardens and parks about them; and there they are. In most cases unobtrusive modernisation is quite possible. Here can be packed away many of the fresh social elements that will be flowing into the new countryside. The parks and gardens will be public; the socialised country house, released from a transitory shabbiness, will still look out with placid windows upon a familiar British landscape."

But that passage is a sentimental interlude. The rebuilding of the world at large will be something far profounder. The greater tasks for our multitudes of architects and builders and artists will be the evocation of the new factories, laboratories and studios, the housing in or near their employment centres of the operatives during their spells of work, club houses for rest and recreation by the sea and in the mountains and the lovelier parts of the earth, shopping centres, caravanserais for the migrant multitudes. Away in the colder regions the architect will have to devise great industrial and social buildings to keep out the cold, and in the tropics to keep out the heat and glare. Imagine the air-conditioned coolness of a vast tropical factory. Henry Ford told me he has always wanted to keep out the daylight from his works. Men at work suffer greatly from the alternations of brightness and dullness even on the normal day. The light will vary in a few minutes from half as much to twice as much as the sun clouds over. The nervous strain demanded by accurate work under this variable illumination is very exhausting. It is quite avoidable by artificial lighting. In holiday times it is delightful to see the cloud shadows race across the hills, but that is a pleasure in which a man doing a fine piece of work cannot indulge. . . .

But this long chapter might be extended indefinitely. It

radiates towards every sort of human activity. Enough has been said to demonstrate the variety, interest, and freedom the New Revolution seeks to release in every part of the world. This is the World Reconstruction which alone can save mankind from the morass of warfare and cruelties into which we are sinking so hopelessly at this present time.

In this fashion the project of the World Revolution, as its ideas assemble and grow clearer and more definite, reveals the world of yesterday revolving into the life and fullness of to-morrow. To one fundamental principle it will adhere throughout—economy of creative effort. Things that have died or are dying are not to be restored, but *whatever forms and activities and institutions have worked with a reasonable efficiency in the pre-war times or have come into passably satisfactory operation during the adjustments of the war crisis, are to be carried on with a minimum of necessary adaptation into the new world order.* The World Revolution is a transformation by release; it is not a clearance and a new start. The new human society we have sketched in this brief chapter, with its endless variety of types and occupations, its freedom of movement, its endless interestingness and its unending activities, is the logical realisation of the latest accumulations of human experience. It is no more and it is no less.

X

A REVIEW OF "FOREIGN POLICIES" IN 1942

TO conclude this summary of the human problem it is necessary to review the present political situation in relation to this large comprehensive pattern of a rationally federated world which is growing hard and clear in the minds of intelligent men from end to end of the earth. We realise that there must needs be a supersession, by merger if possible, of all existing sovereignties and directive organisa-

tions in that pattern, and it becomes a matter of fundamental importance to determine how far all or any of these governments are prepared to dissolve their traditions, pretensions, and bargaining powers into the common requirements of an awakening mankind.

And here again certain general principles have to be kept in view. It has to be borne in mind that this present crisis in human affairs has rushed very swiftly to its present frightful climax. Some of us who were not too deeply immersed in political or business life have had the advantage of lookers-on, and, in an intellectual and detached way, have been able to make forecasts that have proved very close to the truth. But the behaviour of most of us who set up to be professors of foresight has been curiously out of harmony with their forebodings; we have anticipated nearly every "surprise" of the present conflict and we have done very little more about it; we have explained the inevitability of inflation and made our investments as our stockbrokers advised. There is always something very unreal about things that have never happened before. Reason says the new thing must come, but habit and experience deny it stoutly. The disposition to trust to the old routines is innate in every living thing.

These are truisms, but they are disregarded truisms. We have to recall them in this discussion. The purpose of this work is not a scolding and condemnation of existing authorities and responsible people, though there are passages in it that are susceptible of that interpretation, but rather it seeks to gather together and put in order, for them and for the world with which they deal, facts and considerations that they have had no possible chance of getting in due order without this kind of digest. The pace of events has increased to a catastrophic degree, and, before they can get any measure of the new values of things or adjust themselves in any way, their attitudes are superseded and their promises waste paper. It is not as though there were alternatives to them; as though there were other people who really *knew* standing ready to take control. "Sack the lot!" and so forth is just the bawling of frantic men, and it is completely answered by the counter-

question, "And who then?" Driving out ministries and governments will make no immediate substantial alteration in this headlong collapse. The Surprise has been universal, and the sooner we admit it openly and frankly and do our best to define a common line of action, the nearer we shall be to an upward turn in our affairs.

Independent sovereign governments are obsolete and have to be got rid of. Agreed. But legally the whole world is divided up into a patchwork of sovereign governments who have either to consent to their supersession by the threefold federal world system whose necessity has been stated in the second chapter of our opening Book, or they have to fight whole-heartedly or half-heartedly against that federal envelopment. What line have they to take?

No leader or statesman or politician is a free man. He is watched by a swarm of rivals and antagonists alert to rouse the jealousy and suspicion of the simple people against him in order to take his place. "Are you going to turn against your country?" And the common people also will say, "You have led us thus far; you have made us sacrifice ourselves unstintedly—to keep our independence! What are you doing with us now?" How can he explain the swiftness with which new situations have been forced upon him? And are still being forced upon him.

We are all learning. We who sit at the window and look on find it difficult enough to keep our mental hold on the complex dissolutions and combinations that follow one another, but these men who have to commit themselves to six-hour or ten-hour decisions have none of our freedom of judgment. They also are learning, but their learning lags behind the actions they must take. So let us concede them certain things.

A. None of these "responsible" men are to be judged by their past records unless they are obviously records of treachery to common humanity. All of them (and we also) have said things in the past that we would not repeat to-day, things we believed then and do not believe for a moment now. Evil behaviour we cannot condone; treachery, cruelty, time-

serving and animus dispose of a man; but *errors of judgment* must be forgiven.

And that is not all. Proposition B goes further. Since the World Revolution is as yet only a movement, a convergence of imperative necessities, we are bound to extend our tolerance to the disingenuousness that is forced upon these headline people by the necessity of protecting themselves from rivalry at home and the possibility of foreign treachery and misunderstanding. Until they can feel sure that the movement has accumulated political weight, they cannot run the risk of open adhesion to it or to such an explicit and inescapable document as the Sankey Declaration. They are bound to feel their way in just the fashion that irritates the irresponsible virtue of the outspoken revolutionary, by making such statements as the Atlantic Declaration, which they can expand or evade or twist to the left or right according to the response given them. They are not to be condemned too hastily for that.

"Sack the lot!" and you will only replace them by other men who will have to carry on under precisely the same handicap. The better way is to dun them, persuade them, push them and support them so long as they move in our direction.

After which prelude let us survey the ostensible foreign policies at work to-day, and consider where and how a growing Revolutionary Movement must intervene most effectively in the international mêlée in order to bring about its declared objective with the least possible wastage of human life, the threefold federal world unity which is the only possible escape from complete human disaster.

In Book One, Chapter III, we have presented the fundamental significance of the present world catastrophe as the decay and breakdown of a Master-Man system of society, and a great release for good or evil of human energy, and, as our summary has unfolded, it has appeared more and more plainly that all the threatenèd systems of old privilege and appropriation and modernised exploitation, have found a useful network for their conservative resistances in the priestly religious professions, and particularly in the highly efficient organisation of the Roman Catholic Church. From Japan, where there

is a very considerable possibility of communist revolt, right away to the opposite end of the earth, there is the same rally against the release of the subjugated classes, and almost everywhere, except where it is numerically insignificant, the Church is found organising the rally.

How completely this is understood by the Catholic community is manifest by an article I have before me as I write. It is from the *Catholic Herald* of January 20th, 1942, and it is headed "Children of the Miracle". It announces in a sort of ecstasy the activities of an organisation called the "Young Christian Workers". At a time when Great Britain is ostensibly the ally of Russia, when you would imagine she was bound in honour to restrain vehement propaganda against those magnificently combative, sacrificial and united Republics of the U.S.S.R., this is how Catholic Fleet Street, with a complete exposure of reality, cuts across the lines of the ostensible conflict and raises the banner of the Cross against the Hammer and Sickle and the Union Jack.

"Because they" (the Young Christian Workers) "find themselves enlisted in a Crusade aiming at the reconquest of the world for Christ, religion has become a real thing. . . . As workers they occupy the strategic point in the contemporary situation. It was the present Pope when known as Cardinal Pacelli who said: 'In the complexity of the modern world the working classes take on a growing importance, an importance which it would be stupid and unjust to underestimate. The extent to which the representatives of labour are penetrated with the principles of the Gospel will decide in large measure the extent to which the society of to-morrow will be Christian.' We have spoken of the way in which Moscow has become the rallying-point for subversive forces of every kind. It is our belief that Catholic Working Youth will play a corresponding part in rallying the recreative forces of Christendom."

That is as plain a declaration of war—of the *real* war—as one could have. Maybe it would be possible for Englishmen to pride themselves on the democratic open-mindedness that allows it to be printed in London (and no doubt used

against Great Britain in Russia), were it not for the fact that at the same date *The Daily Worker*, the organ of the Communist Party and keenly urgent for the prosecution of the war, was a forbidden paper suppressed for more than half a year by Mr Herbert Morrison, apparently on account of disputes which should have been forgotten. Plainly beneath the ostensible war a polite but determined civil war has raged from end to end of what used to be the British Empire. It raged in the Foreign Office, in the War Office, in the press and even on the battlefield. In Eire the priest conquered and Catholicism reigned supreme. Everywhere the Roman Catholic Church, *à la Pacelli*, weakened and confused the British "war effort" enormously. Russia has become the symbol of the new order, and the war of the old world against the new reveals itself everywhere in the most emphatic pro-Russian and anti-Russian speech and activities.

In Canada one of the early Nazis, a certain Otto Strasser, proposed to raise an armed force to protect Germany from the Bolsheviks! The British Foreign Office seems to have done little to keep this treacherous propaganda under control. The record of this Strasser is plain and open. He and his brother Gregor were blood-stained Nazis. He has considerable claim to copyright in the Nazi idea, and he was the close associate of Goering, Hess, Hitler and the rest of them for some years. Gregor Strasser, Hitler, Hess, were all together after the abortive Munich putsch in the free and easy prison Landsberg, where *Mein Kampf* was concocted. (Goering had bolted abroad.) Strasser tells the story in his *Hitler et Moi*, and particularly how his brother discovered those charming people Himmler and Goebbels and how basely these valuable finds betrayed him and preferred to follow Hitler's star.

There is a considerable Otto Strasser propaganda going on; English readers can get a whole row of it in uniform bindings; and one of its leading books, *Nemesis*, by Mr. Douglas Reed, gives the story of this "man that Hitler fears" in a colour far more flattering and acceptable to the British turn of mind than Strasser's own self-revelation. *Hitler et Moi* has been translated into spirited English, and there you can read a

lot of stuff that I for one am disinclined to believe, about Hitler's unspeakable vices. Strasser writes about his old associate with manifest spite and envy; he seems to have been always nosing about among Hitler's womenkind.

Both Strasser and Douglas Reed write better when they refrain from autobiography. Strasser is a bookish if not a particularly well-read man, and he can run a "philosophical basis" for his views as convincingly as most of us, he can generalise about secular movements of power as wildly as that industrious propagandist of pro-German inevitability, Rudolf Steiner, and he has even a "Law of Triune Polarity" of his very own. It is the old question of the One and the Many, beaten up with Hobbes and that *ersatz* history which Germans affect. Like prohibition whisky, it looks all right until you come to tackle it.

There we have the essential facts. They speak for themselves. The British are allies of the Russians and they are bound in honour for this war and after the war to stand by them as stoutly as they are now standing by us. And yet they have allowed this adventurer to run loose in Canada, purposing to raise an armed force to save Germany from Bolshevism. The ambiguous British Government, shilly-shallying between left and right, allowed that to happen. Strasser's latest book, *L'Aigle Prussien sur l'Allemagne* (*The Prussian Eagle over Germany*), is an impudent attempt on the soundest Nazi lines to exploit the religious feelings and prejudices of the French Canadians against Protestant Prussia for a projected revival of Catholic Germany. "In spite of my short stay in this country," he writes, "I cannot doubt that Quebec will play a great rôle in the reconstruction of Europe wherein the French spirit will have a large share." . . . And he has a scheme for a pseudo-fragmentation of Germany, leaving it in fragments to come together again with a thunderclap whenever the Germans have sufficiently recovered from their coming defeat to be disposed for further mischief.

This is the "Free German" movement. And when at last the break comes; then, so as not to hurt the fine feelings of the German people, already deeply wounded by the writings

of Lord Vansittart, this Strasser army, enlarged by that time by an ever-increasing accession of "Free Germans", pseudo-refugees and tourists, is to be conveyed across to Berlin to protect it from the unforgettable indignity of being occupied as it might otherwise be occupied by Poles, Palestinians, Greeks, Serbs and even (pah!) godless Russians. The "Free Germans" will *understand* their unfortunate fellow-Germans; there will be a little cleaning-up of the early feuds of Strasser and Co. against Goering and Co. and Goebbels and Co. and the like, an expropriation of Protestant landlords in Prussia by a swarm of carefully selected and as far as possible blond Catholic peasants, and then Germany, cleansed and renewed, will face the inferior races of the world again, more *herrenvolk* than ever.

But it may be that it is not the Atlantic powers who will get first to Berlin, and it may be that peoples who have learnt at first hand what the German considers suitable treatment for an invaded people, will anticipate them.

Strasser's propaganda is incessant and his impudence colossal. He writes articles in our advanced journals upon the decay of morale in Germany and the necessity of Otto Strasser. *The New Statesman* publishes this matter with profound respect coupled with vigorous attacks on Vansittart. This copy of *L'Aigle Prussien sur l'Allemagne* before me is addressed to the editor of one of these liberal weeklies, and it is autographed with a flourish "Hommage de Otto Strasser". Manifestly he must have supporters in high places, or he would be put into a concentration camp forthwith. . . .

Strasser has not been alone in his "Free German" brain-wave, and what is still more fantastic, representatives of a "Free Ukrainian" movement, a scheme for detaching the Ukraine from the Soviet system, have been busy until quite recently in England. I have been doing my best to find out whether this has stopped and when it stopped, but my Foreign Office and my War Office confront me with blank diplomatic faces. Great Britain, with the approval of that distinguished Labour leader, Sir Walter Citrine, was only prevented from actually going to war with Russia on behalf of Finland at the

end of 1939 by her complete incapacity to do anything of the sort.

Under the circumstances it is small wonder that Joseph Stalin betrays a certain scepticism about the good intentions of his western allies if and when he wins the war against Germany, and why he makes no attempt to assist Canada and the British Dominions by bombing, as he could easily do, the highly inflammable Japanese cities.

The British Government refused to co-operate with Russia in a joint guarantee of the independence of the smaller Baltic states. We do not know but we can imagine what foolish conversations on the part of Sir Nevile Henderson, Ribbentrop was able to take to the Russian leader in 1939, and how completely the latter must have been persuaded of the persistent malignity of Britain. He has been obliged to think of Russia as a country without friends. He has acted energetically and sagely, and the Soviet Union has risen like one man to sustain him. After Litvinov's warning resignation he worked to gain time by every means in his power. Russia was behindhand and she was nearly caught, but she has pulled through. Nevertheless the British court, vicarage and county will never forgive him for that treaty of non-aggression with Germany that the British Foreign Office forced him to make, and it is still disposed to regard his heroic defeat of Germany as a piece of lower-class impertinence which ought to be discouraged in every way.

This preposterous ruling class, which has steeped the all too loyal people of Great Britain in ignominious failure, still clings to the belief that it is to have some sort of say in the settlement "when this horrid war is over".

The way in which the real war, the war of incompetent conservatism against equalitarian modernism, cuts across all the frontiers of the ostensible war, is extremely conspicuous in the Mediterranean. There the old anti-Bolshevik order seems to be completely dominant in the west under the British flag, while the east is much more definitely hostile to the Anti-Comintern Axis. We have the blameless Lord Gort at Gibraltar, where he entertains his friend General Franco

amidst the new fortifications, we have Sir Samuel Hoare at Madrid, Sir Samuel Hoare, whose ridiculous book about the Russian Revolution, *The Fourth Seal*, must be read to be believed, and all of them are in close touch with Pétain and Vichy. Supplies and reinforcements reach General Rommel in unexpectedly large quantities, to the manifest astonishment of the optimists in Cairo; astonishingly novel air-borne tanks and so forth, things no gentleman ever heard of, inventions the British authorities would not look at three or four years ago, suddenly appear on the other side, and the British positions from Malta to Suez are badly shaken.

The enormous loss of prestige to the British and Americans through their gross unpreparedness and their hitherto divided aims in the Pacific is still imperfectly realised. The common man in England and America is too stunned to realise what has happened, and what will still happen as the tale of consequences unfolds. The loss of Hong Kong to the Japanese was a revelation of incapacity as amazing as the unimaginative unpreparedness and the final heart failure that gave away Singapore, and opened the Bay of Bengal to Japanese attack. The Chinese, who know how to fight the Japanese far better than the British War Office, are battling their way to Hong Kong. I see no reason why the Japanese should make much of a fight for it against them now, though they may need it to bargain with the Chinese later; but only the stupidest British Conservatives imagine that island will ever be handed back again to the feeble uncertainties of upper-class British rule. In three years they have smashed a great Empire—it is as dead as the Spanish or Roman or Byzantine, and they had better adjust their minds to the new shape of things.

Once more in France the real war betrays itself through the ostensible military war. The British Government has committed itself very hastily to General de Gaulle as the embodiment of "Free France". He was wiser than most of his colleagues about the tactics and strategy of the new warfare. He did not believe in the Maginot line and he did have lucid ideas about tanks and planes, and he has a patriotic passion for France. But the France he loves is the France before the

great revolution, the pious and believing France of the twenty wealthy families. He is an ardent Catholic and he promises to become another Napoleon the Third rather than an agent of reconciliation between France and world reconstruction. It was only after half a year and considerable urgency of comment that he made any acknowledgment of obligation to Russia. Then he became quite amazingly pro-Russian. The France to which the World Revolutionary looks is not the France of Joan of Arc and the double cross of Lorraine; it is the France of the great revolution. So far very few De Gaullists seem to have been picked out by Pétain and Darlan to be butchered as hostages. The murdering that has gone on has been much more an elimination of radical and labour leaders, a massacre and bleeding of the left, that will prepare the way for the manifest ambition of the French Quislings, the devotion of France to the sweated production of the more elegant consumption goods to charm the defeated Atlantic peoples in a German-dominated world. Paris will be herself again, the ever gay meretricious city. But as our airmen ask, "What will Uncle Joe say to that?"

Circumstances have for a time made Stalin the world's Man of Destiny, and it is necessary that we should do our utmost to understand first the problem that confronts him and then his probable reaction to its appearances as he is likely to interpret them.

Confronting the World Revolutionary, and confronting Stalin, who, with his Russia, may conceivably become for a time the spear-head of world revolution, we find a problem involving vast uncertainties.

First, and dominating the entire problem, we have what we may call the Three Incalculables.

First there is the riddle of Great Britain. Is "God's Englishman", as Milton called him, going to take his reduction to insignificance in the world's affairs without a protest, or, has he—now that the White Man's Burthen has been lifted from his shoulders—has he the vigour to throw off or control the tophammer that has betrayed and belittled his former sturdiness, and can he then achieve that exemplary Social Revolu-

tion that may give a lead to all the other Parliamentary communities?

The peculiar thing about the British situation is the element of give and take in it, due to the fact that it has never had a serious civil war to break its solidarity; it has never been invaded; nor has it been subjected to any very serious immigration. Moreover, the fact of primogeniture (or gavelkind in Kent) has facilitated a continual exchange of blood between class and class. There are no "Masses" distinct in blood and origin from the employers; until yesterday the monarchy has been imported stuff speaking and thinking with a heavy foreign accent, but all the rest of the community intermarried freely; there is every gradation between the "stately home" and the urban slum. So that the English are elaborately snobbish stratum by stratum, but also they have a habit and disposition to compromise and make a deal in matters that would have involved intense social stresses elsewhere. For a long time Britain led the world in labour legislation, and until the ideas of the New Deal broke upon the American mind, she was fifty years ahead of the New World in that respect. There is much in British life that is open to the severest criticism; Trade Unionism itself is still largely a defensive organisation which admits the inferiority of the worker; but the fact remains that the tradition of "fair play", of "making a deal of it", does saturate the British atmosphere.

The behaviour of the British ruling class has been more stupid and underhand during the past third of a century than ever before; it is, as a class, degenerate; and it is hard to tell how far the possibility of a social revolution, with very little violence, still exists. But there are large sections of the established church who go very far towards an honest socialism; there are employers who make considerable bids for peace with their shop-stewards; there is the freest discussion of revolutionary ideas, and so forth and so on. Face to face with a non-vindictive socialist movement among the workers and the immense effect of the Russian victories, it is quite incalculable how far the element of compromise in the British character may not avert—actual shooting.

The British conservative forces, the financiers, the court, the county and the vicarage, the old universities and the public schools, have fooled away that "Empire" of theirs. The thing is done, and they *have* to accept defeat in some form. They will certainly get better treatment if they make a frank peace with the all too tolerant British common people, albeit it is evident they have cheated and betrayed them, than if they Quisling to the Germans and Japanese. They will get a better deal. And the same thing applies with less force to the poker-faced American industrialist. He, too, has to go left or go under, and he had better go left while the going's good. "Under" is not only shameful but very dangerous.

But, as I wrote in the *Daily Mail* in 1909 when Blériot flew the Channel, "*The world cannot wait for the British.*" This work is very largely a summary of "ways out" and "ways through" from the old social pattern to the new. The possibilities of a humane "letting down" of the now intensely discredited and humiliated old order have been stated in Chapter V of Book One and in Chapter IV of this Second Book, and there can be no question that if Britain can establish a revolutionary pattern of that bloodless type it will have a helpful repercussion in every country in the world. It will cut the Revolutionary struggle ahead of mankind by fifty per cent of the time and confusion it would otherwise need.

Next after Great Britain among the Incalculables of the world situation we may take those three-hundred-odd million Catholics and the problem of how much of that Catholic community will follow the pro-German amateur statecraft of Pope Pacelli in his dream of a German Catholic Middle Europe centring upon Vienna. That has been discussed already in Chapter III of this Book Two.

And thirdly we have the United States of America, still more incalculable, still more enigmatical. Even to itself America is enigmatical. What American to-day can answer the question, "What do you think you are doing in this war? And what do you think America ought to do after it?"

The American community is one that feels very deeply and generously, and it listens to lectures with avidity rather than

discrimination. It will listen to all sorts of lectures, and as long as the speaker can make himself clearly heard it does not seem to mind what he says. It does not read books, it prefers to have them digested for it, and it does not think hard. It has a very quick impatient newspaper-skimming intelligence, headlines rather than the actual articles, which is kept uniform over vast areas because of its syndicated news and articles. The American mind is, in these circumstances, as lively, curious and unstable as a monkey's. Its book trade is still almost confined to "best sellers", and its publishers seem to be subjected to restrictive pressure of all sorts, unknown in the eastern Atlantic. America certainly suffers from mental anæmia because of her superficial reading. How far she is mentally anæmic is an open question, but her instability makes her perhaps the most incalculable of all the Great Incalculables confronting us.

And since the whole world turns now on the behaviour of these three incalculables, it is very difficult to know how anyone else is likely to behave. Our public personages become, all of them, *subsidiary incalculables*, and what else can they possibly be? What can men of real constructive quality like Beneš, Sikorski and so forth, who want to get results, do in the face of these uncertainties? They want to do all they can for justice and freedom on a pacified Europe. They do not want to commit themselves to projects foredoomed to failure. "Half a loaf," says the statesman, "is better than no bread." It is his business to produce something. The scientific observer has a different code. He has to face hostility, suppression, possibly ill-treatment and the concentration camp, but he has not to produce bread.

So, too, that Man of Destiny in Moscow has to weigh his possibilities. He cannot do more than guess about how the Incalculables will behave. And we who would help him and work with him have to bear in mind that he, too, has his limitations. He is a man of great natural shrewdness, courage and essential integrity; his solution of the minority problem was a supremely brilliant and successful piece of statecraft; but he has a certain inferiority complex that exposes him to

flattery and moves him to resentful self-assertion, and he is profoundly ignorant of the western world. He has been out of Russia for only a few days of his life, and that was for conferences that observed nothing. He—and Maisky, his ambassador in London—seem quite unaware of the latent possibilities of social revolution in the entire world. Maybe to admit they existed would savour of an old dispute which ought to be forgotten now. Probably he, in the full tide of the greatest war in history, thinks about it no more, but those in his entourage who watch him and wait for him will still try to keep that old antagonism alive.

He and his Russia, because of this dangerous ignorance of the western world, may disappoint our wishful thinking and fail to play the rôle of the spear-head of the new order. They know nothing of the multiplying friends and allies who look towards them. The Communist Party propaganda in the West has been an obstacle, a yelping intervention, and not an intermediary for the expansion of a common understanding. It will be the greatest of misfortunes for mankind, it may delay the end of warfare until it is too late ever to end it at all, if the Socialist idea in Russia fails to mesh now with the swiftly awakening World Socialism of the English-speaking communities. The Russians play up to an imaginary Britain rather like that presented by the novels of Mrs. Humphry Ward. They have made some sort of bargain with De Gaulle, which they will have to explain some day to the French syndicalists and communists. I suppose if I went to Russia now and was entertained at a feast, they would honour me by playing *God Save the King*—in spite of my lifetime of outspoken republicanism. It is hard to say, in view of the prejudices and illiteracy of the English and Americans and the organised intolerance of the Communist Party, which side of the present Anti-Axis alliance is most ignorant of its partner and the more likely to develop irrational and perhaps disastrous friction.

Essentially Stalin is a modest man and self-distrustful. He does not believe he knows everything or that a thing becomes an imperishable truth because he has happened to say it. That

is why the death of Gorki was a very serious blow to him. Gorki might talk or say very little, but Stalin would get the values of what he had in mind against that trustworthy reflector. Now I doubt if he has anyone he can talk to freely. It is one of the penalties of concentrated power that you are humbugged by everybody about you; some dare not let you know the truth and most have not the slightest intention of telling you the truth. No one can go to Stalin and tell him plainly that he has got the western world wrong. To him it is just the entirely untrustworthy "Capitalist System" which has been forced into reluctant alliance with him, and it is nothing more. He will protect himself against it in every possible way. He is totally unaware of the swelling undertow of revolutionary thought. He may have forgotten that socialism and communism came to Russia from the west. He wants to save the Revolution, and for him I suspect it has become *his* Revolution. He has the natural subtlety, obstinacy, suspicion and reserve of a Georgian mountaineer. In the face of Incalculables he will certainly make himself incalculable.

Now and then he tries out ideas on foreign visitors. Now that there is no more Gorki, these strangers from outside give him as near to that independent reflection as he is likely to get.

It is reported that he told Sikorski that he hoped to see Germany entirely defeated, disarmed and powerless and have a free and strong and friendly Poland and south-east Europe—it scarcely mattered under what regime—as a barrier between him and the ambiguous West. Then he would be free to work out the new socialist order in Russia from the Baltic to the Pacific, and when at last the barriers were let down, it would be such a convincing demonstration of the new order that the rest of the world would adopt it as a matter of course. There you have vanity, self-reliance and distrust. But I do not believe that that was more than a trial statement. He wanted to see how it looked to Sikorski.

Another fragment of gossip comes from a British military representative who was in Moscow when the German guns

were at their nearest to the city. Most of the government had been evacuated. But Stalin would not believe that Moscow could fall, and he would not leave the Kremlin. So the British military representative had to stay with him. The Blitz was heavy and noisy and close. They talked, there were explosions, and the place vibrated. Stalin went and flung open the window and looked out. "It is hard", he said, "to have to wait here in safety (*sic*) and listen to that. One wants to go out and *do* something at once."

There we get the man's weakness at its best; his sense of exclusive personal responsibility. Everything was going well, but still his egotism rebelled at a moment's inaction.

Recently the Russian propaganda in Germany has been contradicting these utterances and arrangements of Stalin's. The propagandists are bidding definitely for a revival of the old Communist Party in Germany. Stalin realises, as we all do, that there the German people must not and cannot be *destroyed*. He said it definitely in an Order of the Day to the Red Army on February 23rd, 1942. But Germany has to be reduced to military impotence and it has to undergo a process of re-education before any of us can feel safe that it will bring its peculiar gifts of industrious thoroughness to the federal union of equalitarian world socialism and not to a renewal of aggression. There is the possibility that a sudden revival of communism in Poland and Germany might repeat the Russian errors of 1917-18 and destroy many things that will afterwards have to be replaced. The World Revolutionary hopes to see the whole world socialist and equalitarian, but he may doubt whether a Jerry-built Soviet system in Middle Europe will take us very far in that direction.

We have to bear in mind that Stalin is neither the beginning nor the end of the Russian Socialist State. The Axis powers offer the world no choice but military submission. Their pretensions to have a New Order in view are manifestly claptrap to weaken the anti-gangster effort. But the Russian system is based upon a complicated, realistic, human ideology. It has been hampered by a sort of strategic dogmatism in the last two decades, but it is a Russianised Westernism; its roots lie

in the rich abundance of liberating western thought that was first released in France a century and a half ago. These roots have never been severed and now they bid fair to be restored in the expansion of World Revolutionary thought in the western world.

The fundamental issue of the world conflict is the banishment of mastery and ownership from the whole world, and since no state, no statesman, no political parties are definitely able to express that; since even Russia is being needlessly "diplomatic", and since the declared "Foreign Policies" of all the combatant, belligerent and neutral states are oriented not to that fundamental issue but to a war under their national flags between the "Axis powers" and the "Anti-Fascist" powers, it is plain that the problem of the World Revolutionary is how he can best turn their striving energies towards the end of World Reconstruction. He will be for or against always with that end in view. In countries like Great Britain or America or France, for example, where an acute internal conflict is clearly manifest, he must not be a whole-hearted patriot but a party politician. He must throw his weight to the left and he must realise that the less difficult he makes the transition, the more he may hope for its realisation.

Suppose now that we sweep the idea of any federal super-government out of the picture and ask merely for special commissions to deal with settlements needed for the winding-up of the war. Such settlements there must be. These winding-up commissions must necessarily fall into shape as a scheme anticipating the lines of the ministries and cooperations which must constitute the unavoidable administrative pattern of the new order. As the Fascist gangster adventure staggers to its final collapse, the victors in the struggle will proceed to administer its estate. There will have to be an Armistice, and the terms of this Armistice will necessarily include the establishment of these commissions. It will be impossible to set a term to their operation, and most of them will expand and require a considerable time. The Armistice therefore may stretch out and become the effective administrative organisation of the world's affairs. The World Revolutionary will do

his utmost to prolong and expand its task, because *the Armistice can itself become, step by step, the new directorate of the world*. The abler and more far-seeing of the statesmen of the transition period will naturally step from their national positions into places on these world commissions, as this idea becomes clear. In this fashion the world may be unified and in working order, long before its practical unification is realised. This is the idea which the World Revolutionary has to hammer home.

It is necessary to dispose of a final misconception. It is totally unnecessary to think of any world government or world "Super-state" in a reconstructed world. There will never be a Parliament of Man; a President of the Earth. The sovereign-government pattern does not apply to a unified world at peace. The Federal Government of the United States is far more consolidated as a state than anything that lies before mankind. The Federal Government of the United States of America is a union for war and collective defence; its constitution was a direct response to British attempts to undermine its solidarity, and so far it is just like any other sovereign state. Very naturally, until people think it over, they see complete world unification in similar terms. They see a federation of the whole world with President, Senate and Congress complete. From the dawn of history there has been a secular increase in the scale of states, tribes have grown into nations and nations have expanded into empires, and almost always it has been done through conquest and coercive amalgamation against the wishes and sentiments of great masses of people. There has almost always been more or less surrender and subjugation. But what lies ahead as the only way out of our present disorders, is cooperation on equal terms for an urgent common purpose.

The existing governments will not have to *surrender* to anybody or anything. They can continue. They will not give up something; they will add something to the world. The legal form in which the new world order will arise will be as a system of federally cooperative world authorities with powers

delegated to them by the existing governments. The governments can go on existing, giving their consent and benediction to the new administrations they have authorised. The World Revolutionary movement will watch and sustain the process, making more and more people realise what has happened. There will never be a World State, as we apprehend a State. As the new methods get into working order the national governments will vanish, softly and unobtrusively, from the lay-out of the world. This final dissolving away of the State was foretold very definitely by Lenin.

So we conclude this review of the present governments of the world and the policies they pursue. Without exception and necessarily they are "all to pieces", as a totality they are getting nowhere at all, they are disastrously out-of-date and behind the times, and nothing can possibly bring them into any sort of hopeful cooperation but their understanding of and their ultimate acquiescence and participation in this World Revolutionary movement which the disciplined thought of hard-minded, clear-headed men, for the most part outside their activities, is bringing to bear upon our staggering progress towards world catastrophe. In this book we have assembled the whole complete case for a rational World Reconstruction. Every part of it interlocks and depends upon every other part. Take it or leave it. *There is no other way.*

The collapse of governments goes on. The world war goes on and no one is winning it. Let us of the Revolutionary Movement get together and watch and prepare ourselves and each other. Let us spread our hard clear convictions incessantly and let us make them still clearer and more unavoidable. It is impossible to foretell the pace of events and when the turn-over may arrive. The day of maximum opportunity may still be some years ahead or it may be close at hand.

ACTIVITIES

THE publisher of this book, who is as keen as the author that it should have its maximum effectiveness as a revolutionary instrument, has asked the latter to give a list of "activities" in which anyone who has read it and been moved by it can immediately engage. "Such a lot of people", he urges, "will agree in principle and yet not see exactly where they in particular come in. They will allow themselves to be frustrated. They will ask, 'How can I do any good?' and generally fall back and forget." There may be something to be said for his view and at any rate no harm will be done if a survey of activities is added to this summary.

To begin with, the reader of this book had better read it again more carefully. The essence of it is in Chapter II of Book One and in the Appendix; practically all the rest of it—except for § 1 of Chapter IV of Book One—is an enforcement, elucidation or expansion of these seven-thousand-odd words. They have been hammered over with the utmost care. One good way of reading and mastering a thing is to copy it out. Another way is to discuss and dispute about it. For almost everybody there must be some one at hand to whom one can take this gist of the book and ask, "What is there wrong about this?" Somewhere in this summary one will find a sufficient answer to any objection that may be made to these primary statements. If the reader belongs to a discussion circle of any sort, formal or informal, his opportunity is greater. He may become a casualty or he may become part of the Open Conspiracy. Then whatever else he does he will continue to serve the propaganda, quietly or urgently as his gifts and opportunities determine.

Some types are born propagandists, and they will organise groups, they will write to newspapers, heckle politicians, take

their mental troubles to a priest or a vicar and so forth and so on and ask him to explain. If he can get away with the argument the student Revolutionary must renew his studies.

A very urgent and immediate need for the World Revolutionary movement is to get it out of English into other languages. Anyone who has a sound knowledge of a second or third language should set to work translating at least these seven-thousand-odd words into it, sending it abroad, getting it published abroad. A good compact version of the Revolutionary ideology is to be found in *Science and the World Mind*, published by the New Europe Publishing Company. Anyone with journalistic associations can write books or articles round this central core. No material in this work is grudged to those who want to quote, annex or paraphrase it. It is copyright, but copyright will only be enforced if there is garbled quotation. It is not a money-making enterprise. It aims to become the common property of creative intelligences throughout the world. Until there are editions in Hindustani, Swahili, Yiddish and so forth and so on, the movement must remain incomplete.

So much for those whose Activities will run naturally into propaganda. But many others have no aptitude for argument or writing, and their Activities will follow other channels.

For a great proportion of productive workers who have not the gift of the gab, there will be a parallel series of Activities of quite equal importance. Among other things they will have to see to the reanimation of that necessary feature of a private ownership system, Trade Unionism. It is a change already under way. Trade Unionism was originally an integral part of the hat-touching Master-Man system that the Revolution proposes to banish from the earth. The workers tacitly admitted their inferior rôle in the community, and their organisation was a defence against long hours and low wages. Their representatives were therefore a consciously inferior type of politician, far too disposed to leave warfare, foreign politics and such high matters to their betters. The downward filtration of reading and thinking and the abolition of toil has made this worker inferiority obsolescent. Everybody who goes into productive work in a socialist order will enter an organisation

of operatives without class distinctions, with a continuing technical education, with an equal opportunity to become an operative head and an equal interest in the interplay of the industrial organisations of the entire world. That is the state of affairs to which World Revolution points, and that is why the World Revolutionary spokesmen and organisers everywhere will no longer be Trade Union "representatives" at Westminster but the men of ability, the shop stewards, the workers in conference, the men and women to whom that particular part of the productive world they own has been entrusted. Their Activities will consist largely in abolishing dismissal from above, getting rid of "passengers" from their units, finding out and insisting upon the best apparatus. None of us want to abolish or discard Trade Unions, which have done so much more for the workers than they originally set out to do, but we have to realise that as they have grown up they have grown up and changed. They were the lower kind of people in the economic life of the community; they are becoming now the whole working community. Every worker in the world is alive to that and helping the transition, or he is deadweight upon the movement. . . .

These are two main systems of Activities. A third lies in the organisation of resistance to the lawless violence to which the collapsing regime may presently resort. But here the writer can do no more for his publisher than to recall what he has written already in Book Two, Chapter III.

APPENDIX

THE Rights of the World Citizen.

The Soviet Constitution of 1936 will be found at the end of the first volume of Beatrice and Sidney Webb's *Soviet Communism, a New Civilisation* (Longman & Co.). It is a book every intelligent Revolutionary should have available.

The World Declaration of the Rights of Man follows. Originally it had this preamble, but for the purposes of world propaganda and to simplify the document as much as possible, this preamble can be omitted.

WITHIN the space of little more than a hundred years there has been a complete revolution in the material conditions of human life. Invention and discovery have so changed the pace and nature of communications round and about the earth that the distances which formerly kept the states and nations of mankind apart have now been practically abolished. At the same time there has been so gigantic an increase of mechanical power, and such a release of human energy, that men's ability either to cooperate with, or to injure and oppress one another, and to consume, develop or waste the bounty of Nature, has been exaggerated beyond all comparison with former times. This process of change has mounted swiftly and steadily in the past third of a century, and is now approaching a climax.

It becomes imperative to adjust man's life and institutions to the increasing dangers and opportunities of these new circumstances. He is being forced to organise cooperation among the medley of separate sovereign states which has hitherto served his political ends. At the same time he finds it necessary to rescue his economic life from devastation by the immensely enhanced growth of profit-seeking business and finance. Political, economic and social collectivisation is

being forced upon him. He responds to these new conditions blindly and with a great wastage of happiness and well-being.

Governments are either becoming State collectivism or passing under the sway of monopolist productive and financial organisations. Religious organisations, education and the press are subordinated to the will of dictatorial groups and individuals, while scientific and literary work and a multitude of social activities, which have hitherto been independent and spontaneous, fall under the influence of these modern concentrations of power. Neither Governments nor great economic and financial combinations were devised to exercise such powers; they grew up in response to the requirements of an earlier age.

Under the stress of the new conditions, insecurity, abuses and tyrannies increase; and liberty, particularly liberty of thought and speech, decays. Phase by phase these ill-adapted Governments and controls are restricting that free play of the individual mind which is the preservative of human efficiency and happiness. The temporary advantage of swift and secret action which these monopolisations of power display is gained at the price of profound and progressive social demoralisation. Bereft of liberty and sense of responsibility, the peoples are manifestly doomed to lapse, after a phase of servile discipline, into disorder and violence. Confidence and deliberation give place to hysteria, apathy and inefficiency. Everywhere war and monstrous exploitation are intensified, so that those very same increments of power and opportunity which have brought mankind within sight of an age of limitless plenty, seem likely to be lost again, and, it may be, lost for ever, in a chaotic and irremediable social collapse.

It becomes clear that a unified political, economic and social order can alone put an end to these national and private appropriations that now waste the mighty possibilities of our time.

The history of the Western peoples has a lesson for all mankind. It has been the practice of what are called the democratic or Parliamentary countries to meet every enhancement and centralisation of power in the past by a definite and

vigorous reassertion of the individual rights of man. Never before has the demand to revive that precedent been so urgent as it is now. We of the Parliamentary democracies recognise the inevitability of world reconstruction upon collectivist lines, but, after our tradition, we couple with that recognition a Declaration of Rights, so that the profound changes now in progress shall produce not an attempted reconstruction of human affairs in the dark, but a rational reconstruction conceived and arrived at in the full light of day. To that time-honoured instrument of a Declaration of Rights we therefore return, but now upon a world scale.

1. *Right to Live.*

By the word "man" in this Declaration is meant every living human being without distinction of age or sex.

Every man is a *joint inheritor of all the natural resources and of the powers, inventions and possibilities accumulated by our forerunners. He is entitled, within the measure of these resources and without distinction of race, colour or professed beliefs or opinions*, to the nourishment, covering and medical care needed to realise his full possibilities of physical and mental development from birth to death. Notwithstanding the various and unequal qualities of individuals, all men shall be deemed absolutely equal in the eyes of the law, equally important in social life and equally entitled to the respect of their fellow men.

2. *Protection of Minors.*

The natural and rightful guardians of those who are not of an age to protect themselves are their parents. In default of such parental protection in whole or in part, the community, having due regard to the family traditions of the child, shall accept or provide alternative guardians.

3. *Duty to the Community.*

It is the duty of every man not only to respect but to uphold and to advance the rights of all other men throughout the

world. Furthermore, it is his duty to contribute such service to the community as will ensure the performance of those necessary tasks for which the incentives which will operate in a free society do not provide. It is only by doing his quota of service that a man can justify his partnership in the community. No man shall be conscripted for military or other service to which he has an objection, but to perform no social duty whatsoever is to remain unenfranchised and under guardianship.

4. *Right to Knowledge.*

It is the duty of the community to equip every man with sufficient education to enable him to be as useful and interested a citizen as his capacity allows. Furthermore, it is the duty of the community to render all knowledge available to him and such special education as will give him equality of opportunity for the development of his distinctive gifts in the service of mankind. He shall have easy and prompt access to all information necessary for him to form a judgment upon current events and issues.

5. *Freedom of Thought and Worship.*

Every man has a right to the utmost freedom of expression, discussion, association and worship.

6. *Right to Work.*

A man may engage freely in any lawful occupation, earning such pay as the contribution that his work makes to the welfare of the community may justify or that the desire of any private individual or individuals for his products, his performances or the continuation of his activities may produce for him. He is entitled to paid employment by the community and to make suggestions as to the kind of employment which he considers himself able to perform. He is entitled to profit fully by the desirableness of his products and activities. And he is entitled to payment for calling attention to a product or conveying it to consumers to whom it would otherwise be unattainable. By doing so, he does a service for which

he may legitimately profit. He is a useful agent. *But buying and holding and selling again simply in order to make a profit is not lawful.* It is speculation; it does no service; it makes profit out of want and it can be profitable only by creating or sustaining want. It tempts men directly to the interception of legitimate profits, to forestalling, appropriation, hoarding and a complex of anti-social activities, and it is equally unlawful for private individuals and public administrative bodies.

7. Right in Personal Property.

In the enjoyment of his personal property, lawfully possessed, and subject to the limitations stated in Articles 3 and 6, a man is entitled to protection from public or private violence, deprivation, compulsion and intimidation.

8. Freedom of Movement.

A man may move freely about the world at his own expense. His private dwelling, however, and any reasonably limited enclosure of which he is the occupant, may be entered only with his consent or by a legally qualified person empowered with a warrant as the law may direct. So long as by his movement he does not intrude upon the private domain of any other citizen, harm, or disfigure or encumber what is not his, interfere with or endanger the happiness of others, he shall have the right to come and go wherever he chooses, by land, air, or water, over any kind of country, mountain, moorland, river, lake, sea or ocean, and all the ample spaces of this, his world.

9. Personal Liberty.

Unless a man is declared by a competent authority to be a danger to himself or others through mental abnormality, a declaration which must be confirmed within seven days and thereafter reviewed at least annually, he shall not be restrained for more than twenty-four hours without being charged with a definite offence, nor shall he be remanded for a longer period than eight days without his consent, nor imprisoned for more

than three months without a trial. At a reasonable time before his trial, he shall be furnished with a copy of the evidence which it is proposed to use against him. At the end of the three months period, if he has not been tried and sentenced by due process of the law, he shall be acquitted and released. No man shall be charged more than once for the same offence. Although he is open to the free criticism of his fellows, a man shall have adequate protection against any misrepresentation that may distress or injure him. Secret evidence is not permissible. Statements recorded in administrative dossiers shall not be used to justify the slightest infringement of personal liberty. A dossier is merely a memorandum for administrative use; it shall not be used as evidence without proper confirmation in open court.

10. *Freedom from Violence.*

No man shall be subjected to any sort of mutilation except with his own deliberate consent, freely given, nor to forcible handling, except in restraint of his own violence, nor to torture, beating or any other physical ill-treatment. He shall not be subjected to mental distress, or to imprisonment in infected, verminous or otherwise insanitary quarters, or be put into the company of verminous or infectious people. But if he is himself infectious or a danger to the health of others, he may be cleansed, disinfected, put in quarantine or otherwise restrained so far as may be necessary to prevent harm to his fellows. No one shall be punished vicariously by the selection, arrest or ill-treatment of hostages.

11. *Right of Law-Making.*

The rights embodied in this Declaration are fundamental and inalienable. In conventional and in administrative matters, but in no others, it is an obvious practical necessity for men to limit the free play of certain of these fundamental rights. (In, for example, such conventional matters as the rule of the road or the protection of money from forgery, and in such administrative matters as town and country planning, or

public hygiene.) No law, conventional or administrative, shall be binding on any man or any section of the community unless it has been made openly with the active or tacit acquiescence of every adult citizen concerned, given either by direct majority vote of the community affected or by a majority vote of his representatives publicly selected. These representatives shall be ultimately responsible for all by-laws and for detailed interpretations made in the execution of the law. In matters of convention and collective action, the will of the majority must prevail. All legislation must be subject to public discussion, revision or repeal. No treaties or contracts shall be made secretly in the name of the community.

The fount of legislation in a free world is the whole people, and since life flows on constantly to new citizens, no generation can, in whole or in part, surrender or delegate this legislative power, inalienably inherent in mankind.

These are the common rights of all human beings. They are yours whoever you are. Demand that your rulers and politicians sign and observe this declaration. If they refuse, if they quibble, they can have no place in the new free world that dawns upon mankind.

